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THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF WALT WHITMAN

Issued under the editorial supervision of his literary executors, Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel

With additional bibliographical and critical material prepared by Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D.

Tomb of Walt Whitman in Harleigh Cemetery, near Camden, N. J.

From a photograph

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK & LONDON
THE KNICKERBOCKER PRESS

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THE PUBLISHERS OF THE AUTHORIZED EDITIONS OF
THE WRITINGS OF WALT WHITMAN

THE

COMPLETE PROSE WORKS

OF

WALT WHITMAN

VOLUME VII

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press
1902

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By THOMAS B. HARNED and HORACE L. TRAUBEL
SURVIVING LITERARY EXECUTORS OF WALT WHITMAN
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The Knickerbocker Press, New York

Contents

PAGE

Part III (Continued)—SHORTER NOTES, ISOLATED WORDS, BRIEF SENTENCES, MEMORANDA, SUGGESTIVE EXPRESSIONS, NAMES AND DATES 3

Part IV—NOTES ON ENGLISH HISTORY . . . 39

Part V—LIST OF CERTAIN MAGAZINE AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES STUDIED AND PRESERVED BY WALT WHITMAN AND FOUND IN HIS SCRAPBOOKS AND AMONG HIS PAPERS . 63

THE GROWTH OF "LEAVES OF GRASS"

By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D.

I—A Unique Composition 101
II—The Foreground 103
III—His Purpose 106
IV—General Features of Development . . . 110
V—Method of Composition 121

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WALT WHITMAN

Compiled by Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D.

A. THE WRITINGS OF WALT WHITMAN . . 139

Contents

B. BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL

PAGE

I—Books 187
II—Pamphlets 192
III—Essays in Books 194
IV—Incidental Discussion 198
V—Articles in Periodicals 202

C. POEMS 229

INDEX 235

Illustrations

PAGE

Tomb of Walt Whitman in Harleigh Cemetery, near Camden, N.J. . . *Frontispiece*
From a photograph

Walt Whitman and the Children . . . 60
From a photograph

Whitman's Nurse, Mary Davis, and Whitman's Dog 104
From a photograph

Whitman's House, Mickle Street, Camden, N.J. 140
From a photograph by J. H. Johnston, M.D., Bolton, England

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS

LEFT BY WALT WHITMAN

AND NOW EDITED BY

DR. RICHARD BUCKE

ONE OF HIS LITERARY EXECUTORS

PARTS III (Cont'd), IV and V

"Waifs from the deep cast high and dry"

Leaves of Grass.

Part III

Shorter Notes, Isolated Words, Brief Sentences, Memoranda, Suggestive Expressions, Names and Dates

(*Continued*)

Part III

(*Continued*)

27

Etymology — origin and derivation. Distributes words into parts of speech, tenses, genders etc.

Syntax — constructing words in a sentence.

Prosidy — accent, versification, laws of harmony.

Preterit — past — noting the past tense of a verb as, "I wrote."

28

Ditherambic — trochee — iambic — anapest — Hexameter — Pentameter — Pyrrhic, a poetic foot of two short syllables — Spondee, two long syllables, in poetry — dactyl — spondee.

Hexameter — in ancient poetry a verse of six feet, the first four of which may be either dactyls or spondees, the fifth must regularly be a dactyl, the sixth always a spondee.

"So thus | having spok | en the casque | nodding | Hector de | parted."

Iambus — Iambics — Anciently certain songs or satires supposed to have given birth to ancient comedy.

Iambus, a poetic "foot" consisting of two syllables, the first short and the last long, as in "delight." e. g.

"He scorns | the force | that dares | his fu | ry stay."

Trochee — (from a Greek work signifying to run). A poetic foot consisting of two syllables, the first long, the second short (I suppose such as this):

"Would you | gaze up | on the | waters | of the | lordly | Missis | sippi."

Dactyl (from the Greek word for "finger," the joint nearest the hand being long, the other two joints short).

A poetic foot of three syllables, the first long, the others short—I suppose such as:

"Thundering | upward and | downward the — surges roll'd."

Hexameters. — Verses whose lines are six poetic feet either dactyls or spondees: e. g.

"Then when An | dromache | ended said | tall bright | helmeted | Hector."

Dactyl a poetic foot of one long and two short syllables: e. g.

"Oft at the | close of the | day when the . . ."

Spondee — a poetic foot of two long syllables: e.g.

"Auro | ra now | fair daugh | ter of | the dawn."

Pentameter — having five regular feet (as the line immediately above).

Iambus — two short syllables.

Trochee — a long and a short syllable.

Pentameter—ancient poetry—a verse of five feet. The two first may be either Dactyls or Spondees — the third is always a Spondee and the two last Anapests. A pentameter verse subjoined to a hexameter constitutes what is called an Elegiac.

Anapest — three syllables, the first two short the last long, the reverse of the Dactyl as

"Can a bo | som so gen | tle remain | unmov'd— when her Co | rydon sighs."

29

Dithyrambus. Dithyramb. Dithyrambic. From a Greek word a title of Bacchus the signification of which not settled.

In ancient poetry a hymn or song in honor of Bacchus, full of transport and poetical rage. Of this species of writing we have no remains.

A song of Bacchus in which the wildness of intoxication is infused.

Any poem in which ecstacy and wildness are expressed in kind.

Cæsura. Cæsural pause (from Cæsum, the cutting thing). A pause in verse so introduced as to

aid the recital and make melody — divides a line into equal or unequal parts.

30

Menu son or grandson of Brahma and first of created beings.

Sadi about 1000 A.D.

Indian epic poetry — who was Veias?

Milton 1608–1674. Contemporary of Ben Jonson 1574–1637. Dryden 1631–1700. Bunyan 1628–1688. Followed by Alexander Pope 1688.

Burns, born 1757 died 1796 aged 39.

G. W. Curtis lecture. Delivered Clinton Hall 27 Feb. '56. Subject "Charles Dickens." Literature of Germany. English literature, Dr. Johnson latter half of last century. Walter Scott. This [*referring to passage in Curtis' lecture*] is stolen from Carlyle.

31

Looks like Forest.*

32

Some ideas on Hexameter's, Poetry and Prose, and on Milton.†

33

Abraham's visit to Egypt 2000 B.C. took his handmaid Hagar—their son Ishmael progenitor of the Arabs.

* Written over a newspaper print of Plato.

† Written on a leaf of *Christopher under Canvas* (which is pasted in scrap book).

Birth of Hercules 1205 B.C.

Death of Hercules 1155 B.C.

Alexandrian Library. 700,000 vols. commenced by Ptolemy Philadelphus—destroyed either by enraged Christians under Theodosius the Great 390 A.C. or by Saracens under Omar 642 A.C. or by . . .

Job—of the land of Uz, Arabia, 2300 B.C.

Menu (first). Moses 1600 B.C. Zoroaster 1400 B.C. Confucius 500 B.C. Socrates 400 B.C.

Deluge 2348 B.C. English Bible, 2346 Septuagint, Josephus makes it 3146.

Menes 1st, according to Manetho 5867 B.C. Osortasen 2088 B.C. Sesostris or Remeses 2nd 1355 B.C. Solomon born 1032 B.C. Solomon's temple (? finished) 600 B.C. Herodotus 430 B.C. Alexander the Great 332 B.C.

34

Pythagoras was of beautiful, large person, rich, dressed elegantly, practiced athletics, exercised, bathed, used perfumes.

Homer about 907 years B.C. Pythagoras about 600 B.C. Trojan expedition 1136 years B.C. Troy taken 1127 B.C. The Iliad.

Phydias, the Sculptor, born, 488 B.C. Socrates from 469 B.C. to 399 B.C. Plato ("broad") 429–347.

35

Read the latest and best anatomical works. Talk with physicians. Study the anatomical plates — also casts and figures in the collections of design.

36

? Poem of different Incidents — characters — men and women — without giving proper names — as, There was . . . There was . . .

37

Loveblows. Loveblossoms. Loveapples. Loveleaves. Loveclimbers. Loveverdure. Love Vines. Lovebranches. Loveroot. Climber-blossom. Verdure, branch, fruit and vine. Loveroot. Juice Climber. Silk crotch. Crotch bulb and vine. Juicy, climbering mine. Bulb, silkthread crotch and. . . .*

38

Pekan tree — honey locust — black walnut — persimmon — Cottonwood — Mulberry— Chickadee — large brown water-dog — black snake — garter snake — vinegar plums — white blossoming dog-wood — sweet potato — plum-trees — plum orchard — cedar —chestnut — locust — birch—cypress—buttonwood.

* Cf. *Leaves of Grass*, '55 edition, p. 13.

39

Poems. A cluster (same style as of Sonnets like, as *Calamus Leaves*) of poems, verses, thoughts etc. embodying religious emotions.

40

Editorial for insertion same day with the article, "The New Inland America."

American Expansion and Settlement Inland.

41

Sweet flag. Sweet fern. Illuminated face. Clarified. Unpoluted. Flour corn. Aromatic. Calamus. Sweet-gum, bulb, and melons with bulbs grateful to the hand.

42

? Poem of the Husband. ? Poem of the Wife. ? Poem of the Husband and the Wife. ? Poem of Marriage.

43

The Story of Dante's "Journey through Hell."

The three great narrative poets of Italy (great Italian poetic constellation). Dante, born 1265. Pulci, born 1431. Biordo, 1434. Ariosto, born 1474. Tasso, born 1544.

44

On a magazine leaf dated Nov., 1845, occurs these words: "The French are perfect masters of the philosophy of manners, or as they term it 'Science du monde.'" Against this Whitman made this marginal note: "Yes, perfect masters of *French* manners."

45

Klopstock — patriotic extremely and enthusiastically and very religious.

Lessing — Jew, critical — both flourished from 1750 onward — before Goethe.

Later poetical successes since Goethe and Schiller, Tieck, Chamisso, Uhland, Schultze, Rüchert, Heine, Hoffman (tall in person), Freiligrath (something like the English Tennyson and the American Bayard Taylor).

46

Dutch (Holland-Belgium) Netherlands. Have a literature, poets, historians, essayists, — first-raters.

47

Waller — born 1605, died 1687. — Was a time-server, fawner, place-hunter.

48

Orphic hymns. Izeds of the Parsees. Elohim, Achadim and Adonim of the Hebrews. Lahi of the Thibetans. In spiritualism.

49

O. Goldsmith — Born about 1728 — Died 1774 in his 46th year — his tomb is now unknown.

50

The States. — Prairie Psalms (Psalms, Praises). Prairie Spaces. Prairie Babes. Prairie Daughters and ? Sons. ? Prairie Oaks. (Commence with a proto with the word "Perennial.") Babes of the States. Prairie airs. American chants — do chorus.

51

Names. The Biblical poets — David, Isaiah, the Book of Job — etc. Also the New Testament writers. Merlin. Thomas the Rymer, Scotch, lived during 13th century, died 1299 — supposed 80 years old. Hafiz. Sadi — Persian — about the year 1000 A. D. Eschylus. Sophocles. Euripides. Swedenborg. Rousseau. Montaigne. Cervantes. Richter. Jacob Boehme.

Hans Sachs — 1494 to about 1570 — by trade a shoemaker — one of the Master-singers in Nurenburg

—from 1494 onward some 80 years—contemporary of Luther—wrote 6048 poems (208 of these tragedies and comedies).

Greatest—Homer. Hesiod. Pindar. Tyrtæus. Virgil. Horace. Anacreon.

Author of the *Niebelungen Lied,* composed as now extant about the 13th century, but dating back with its written germs may be in the 6th century. Hafiz Sadi. Valmiki—author of *Ramayana.* Vyasa—*Mahabarata.* Ossian. Bards of Wales, Scotland, Ireland—Druids. Chaucer. Ferdusi, and the primeval mythologists of Hindoostan.

"The wayward mystic gloom of Calderon."

"The lurid fire of Dante."

"The auroral light of Tasso."

"The clear icy glitter of Racine."—*Carlyle.*

Shakespeare. Milton. Racine. Corneille. Luther. Goethe. Schiller. Dante—see page 186—about 75 from the beginning of this book "Master of heaven [hell], of purgatory and of paradise, owning them by right of genius—he could bestow situation upon friend or foe, in any of them." Tasso. Petrarch. Boccaccio, contemporary of Chaucer—Petrarch: "Next to Dante Boccaccio was the greatest contributor to the formation of the Italian language. To the former it was indebted for nerve and dignity, to the latter for elegance, wit and ease."

52

"Still lives the song tho' Regnar dies."—*John Sterling.*

The word is become flesh.

53

Poem. As in visions of . . . at night . . .
All sorts of fancies running through the head.

54

Spencer's single object through the vast amplitude and variety of his *Faerie Queene* is—"to fashion a gentleman of noble person in virtuous, brave and gentle discipline."

55

And as here in this article, which is written to present truthfully and plainly one side of the story indispensable to the examination (now just seriously beginning) of Walt Whitman's writings, may here perhaps not improperly be given in the brief, spinal idea of Walt Whitman's poetry.

56

My two theses—animal and spiritual—became gradually fused in *Leaves of Grass,*—runs through all the poems and gives color to the whole.

57

See Aristotle, Descartes, Locke, Hume.

Hegel, German literature, prose writers of Germany.

58

Æschylus — 383 — Vol. II. Grote — Felton Vol. I. — 207. Sophocles — Grote — Felton Vol. I. — 218 et seq. Hesiod — Felton Vol. I. p. 134-5. Tyrtæus — Felton Vol. I. p. 160.

59

Æsthetics — Art — Science.

Plato treated philosophy as an *art* — Aristotle as a *science.* That is, Plato was [made up of] intuitions, and was calm, full of enjoyment, admiration, beauty, the pictorial — was large, flowing, relied on the feelings, and made swift and imperious conclusions, often he was a mystic, can only be understood from the same platform with himself.

But Aristotle was rather intellect, purer from the rest, keen, convinced by proof and argument, inquiring into all things from a devouring need of knowledge in itself. Aristotle represents mediums between extremes; also experimental philosophy. (It seems to be the substratum on which are based modern literature, education, and very largely modern character.)

Then there is the Hebrew, rapt, spiritual.

60

For example, whisper privately in your ear . . . the studies . . . be a rich investment if they . . . to bring the hat instantly off the . . . all his learning and bend himself to feel and fully enjoy . . . superb wonder of a blade of grass growing up green and crispy from the ground. Enter into the thoughts of the different theological faiths — effuse all that the believing Egyptian would — all that the Greek — all that the Hindoo, worshipping Brahma — the Koboo adoring his fetish stone or log — the Presbyterian — the Catholic with his crucifix and saints — the Turk with the Koran.*

61

Lycurgus — some short time after Solomon — that is about 900 years before Christ.

Demosthenes — aged 27 — 533 years before Christ.

Cicero — born 104 years before Christ.

62

Indian Summer (in *Leaves for the Sick*) — a jaunt, a long, slow, easy ramble — (the idea of ease and of being firmly and friendlily supported) — the idea of . . .

* Cf. *Leaves of Grass,* 55th edition, p. 48. A very early note, the paper torn and almost falling to pieces from age.

63

A string of Poems, (short etc.) embodying the amative love of woman — the same as *Live Oak Leaves* do the passion of friendship for man.*

64

Breathjuice — Airscents — Airsmells — Airodor — Loveodor — Airdrifts — Breathsmoke — Airjuice for you — Airsough.

65

That growth and tendency of all modern theology, literature, social manners, diet, ?, most to be dreaded, is the feebleness, inertia, the loss of power, the loss of personality being diffused — spread over a vast democratic level. Per contra.— And yet the most marked peculiarity of modern philosophy is toward the special subjective, the theory of individuality.

66

In a poem make the thought of "What will be the result of this years hence?"

67

Poem of Poets (? now) in all lands. Describing all the different phases of the expression of the poetical sentiment in all lands.

* So *Calamus* it seems was to have been named *Live Oak Leaves*.

68

Poem ante-dating, anticipating, prophecying great results — those that will be likely to exist a hundred years hence.

69

The beef, wheat and lumber of Chicago, the copper of Wisconsin — the region of Green Bay. The railroads with their hundreds of lines and interlines, over the prairies and up into the pineries and mines, the myriad rivers — the great inland lakes . . .

70

Poem of the black person.— Infuse the sentiment of a sweeping, surrounding, shielding protection of the blacks — their passiveness — their character of sudden fits — the abstracted fit — (the three picturesque blacks in the men's cabin in the Fulton ferry boat) — their costumes — dinner kettles — describe them in the poem.

71

Poem of Wisconsin.
Poem of Missouri.
Poem of Texas.
Poem of Lake Superior.
Poem of the Rifle.
— *for Western Edition.*

72

What name? Religious Canticles. These perhaps ought to be the *brain* the *living spirit* (elusive, indescribable, indefinite) of all the *Leaves of Grass.*

Hymns of ecstasy and religious fervor.

73

Sea windrows. Ocean windrows. Beach. Beach windrows. Windrows with sand and sea hay. Windrows sand and scales and Beach hay. Sands and drifts. Windrows and beach hay. Under foot. Walking the Beach. Drift underfoot. Underfoot Drift. Wash. Drift at your feet.

74

Sands and Drifts. (This collection is to be transposed so as to come before *Calumus Leaves.**)

75

Poem of Soldiers. Sorrow, ? just a list (string?) merely:

Sobs of the tempest, sobs of the voice.

Passage in every "Lecture": To those few who understand—get at the heart of the theme.

76

Poems identifying the different branches of the

* With 73 and 74 compare *Leaves of Grass*, '60 edition, p. 195 et seq.

Sciences, as for instance: Poem of The Stars — ? Astronomy — ? Suns, planets and moons. Poem of Geology — not a good word — ? the processes of the earth.

Poem of Chemistry.

Poem of Arithmetic — mathematics — calculation — figures — exactitude.

Poem of Musicians — tenor — soprano — baritone — basso.

77

Poem of . . . first line:
Manhattan, go in!

78

Poem of the Devil — counteractive of the common idea of Satan.

79

Poem of Young Men.

The Sumatra young man, curious, handsome, manly, gentle, that came aboard the *Flirt.*

Young men in all cities.

80

Poem of fruits and flowers.

Poem of Forms, Sounds, Colors, Tastes, and Perfumes. Poem of Joy, Laughter.

81

Of Death — the Song of Immortality and Ensemble.

82

Mithras, the grand diety of ancient Persians, supposed to be the sun, or God of fire, to whom they paid divine honors.

Oromasdes. Kaaba. The Bedowee.

Look at theological dictionary. 1855. Walt Whitman.

83

Poem of a proud, daring, joyous, expression for Manhattan island!

Bully for you, Manhattan!

84

Man — boy — child — infant — youth — young man — old man — ami — brother — father —

Woman — wife — mother — daughter — sister — amie — aunt —

Head — neck — hair — ears — eyes — iris of the eye — fringe — nose — nostrils — mouth — lips — tongue teeth — throat — chin — cheeks — temples — eyebrows — eyelashes — forehead — shoulder — shoulder blade — scapula? elbow — upper half arm? — lower half — wrist — arm-pit — arm sinews — arm joints — arm bones — hand — palm — thumb — knuckles — forefinger

— finger-points — finger-nails —finger-joints —breast —breast-bone—breast-muscle—ribs—waist — breast-side— back—spine—hips—man-nuts—thighs—man-balls — man-root — thigh-strength — knee-pan — ? upper half leg—? lower half — knee — leg-fibres— ankle — instep — foot-ball — toes—toe-joints — skull-frame — brain (in folds) — spine-hinges and the marrow — hip-muscles — rings of the wind-pipe — stomach-sac — belly — bowels sweet and clean — lung-sponges — liver — tympanum of the ear — roof of the mouth — motion of the tongue — voice — articulation of words—whispering—shouting aloud — tears — weeping — laughter — love-looks — love-risings—broad breast-front—ample chest—albumen— arteries—veins—nerves — digestion—pulse—sweat— food—drink—sexuality—health—heart—heart-throbs —blood — veins — list of bones large and small— skin—freckles—lungs—breathing in and out—ankle-sockets — thigh-sockets — neck-slue — poise of hips —feet—heel — tendon— jaw — jaw-hinges — sleep— running — walking — sympathies — heart-valves— ? palate-valves — nipples — womb — teats.*

85

The American people, ever sturdy, ever instinctively just, by right of Teutonic descent, have only

* Used in *I Sing the Body Electric,* but not in '55 edition of that poem — in '56 edition is used — list then probably made in 1855 after '55 edition printed.

to perceive any great wrong and the work of redemption is begun from that hour. I heartily approve of the action of the California Vigilance Committee, it is worthy the promptness and just anger of the Anglo-Saxon race. But the whole of these States need one grand vigilance committee composed of the body of the people and especially of the young men.*

If these two old ["traitors" *written and scratched out*] here at the outset, threaten disunion unless they or the like of them are put in the Presidency, what may we expect if they were placed in the Presidency?

86

Poem of Architecture. ? The Carpenter's and Mason's Poem.

87

Mothers precede all. Put in a poem the sentiment of women (mothers) as preceding all the rest. ? Let this lead the poem of women.

88

The most Jubilant, Triumphant Poem.

This ought to express the sentiment of all great jubilant glee, of athletic sort,—for great deaths, devoirs, works—in battle—falling in battle—in

* Refers to San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851 or 1856 or perhaps both — probably part of a newspaper article written at that time.

martyrdom — for great renunciations — for love — especially for the close of life — (the close of a great, true life) for friendship.

89

Poem (idea). "To struggle is not to suffer."

Bold and strong invocation of suffering — to try how much one can stand.

Overture — a long list of words — the sentiment of suffering, oppression, despair, anguish.

Collect (rapidly present) terrible scenes of suffering.

"Then man is a God." Then he walks over all.

90

Songs (with notes — written for the voice) with dramatic activity as for instance a song describing the cutting down of the tree by wood-cutters in the west — the pleasures of a wood-life, etc.

91

Whole Poem. Poem of Insects.

Get from Mr. Arkhurst the names of all insects — interweave a train of thought suitable — also trains of words.

92

Voices, Recitatives.

The rich man's just awakened soul.

As just awaken, can I enjoy these. . . .
Now rise and troop around me.

93

An After-Thought or Two and After Songs.

94

Rock-fish — viz., striped bass — more abundant in Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries than any other [in] N. A. — ascend in spring to deposit eggs.

95

The whip sting ray, often met about New York, round-shaped, largest caught four feet across, tail five feet long, have been known to send the tail through a man's hand, are dreaded by fisherman. (The olive-green fishes and the gray and brown blotched fishes.) Oysters; clams; crab; eel; mussel; scallop; horse-foot; lobster; sting-ray; fiddler; Mossbanker (spotted); yellow mackerel; squetang or weak fish is blotched beautifully with white and silver and blue — when first caught is of a rich tint of purplish red — soon fades — move about in shoals generally swimming near the surface — they take the bait at a voracious snap — seldom condescending to nibble — seems to love in summer a slight infusion of fresh water as it concentrates about the mouths of rivers; sea-pike — length eight

inches — appears in August — back dark green, sides silvery white — belly dull white — fins subtransparent pricked with green; blue-fish; white-fish; black-fish, viz., tautog; perch; trout; brook trout; salmon; bass; king-fish; porgee; hake — really king-fish — so known in New York; halibut; shad; horse-mackerel; dog-fish; stickleback (? mullet); herring; drumm; flat-fish; sun-fish; flying-fish — otherwise pig-fish from a strong grunt or bark it makes when first caught or hauled in — said to be only a summer visitor — is small sized — good to eat; wind fish; cat fish; chub; chub-sucker; mud-fish; shark; sword-fish; whale; silver-side — translucent — diminutive — myriads of them — the little things that dart up creeks and along the edges of the sea.

96

Poem of Kisses — the kiss of love — of death — of betrayal.

97

Sea-cabbage; salt hay; sea-rushes; ooze — sea-ooze; gluten — sea-gluten; sea-scum; spawn; surf; beach; salt-perfume; mud; sound of walking barefoot ankle deep in the edge of the water by the sea.

98

Poem of the Sunlight — Sunshine. Poem of Light.

99

Poem of the Trainer.

100

The Poetry of other lands lies in the past — what they have been. The Poetry of America lies in the future — what These States and their coming men and women are certainly to be.

101

A Poem. — Theme. — Be happy. Going forth, seeing all the beautiful perfect things.

102

Poem (bequeathing to others a charge) what poems are wanted — including a long list culled from the MS. scraps.

103

Poem of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois —? Poem of Ohio. ? Poem of Kentucky. ? Poem of Illinois etc. etc. ? Poem of Massachusetts. Prairie Poem. The Carpenter's Poem. Poem of Brooklyn.

104

Companions (viz. Poems, cantos, of my various companions). Each one being celebrated in verse by himself or herself.

105

Death of an Aged Lover. Our neighbor N. the landscape painter is just dead.

106

A talent for conversation — Have you it? If you have, you have a facile and dangerous tenant in your soul's palace.

107

Poems of the Ancient Earth to the Ancient Heavens.

108

Poems of names; bringing in all person's names, men and women, worthy to be commemorated.

109

American boys. A Book. Containing the Main Things — for the formation, reading, reference, and study for An American Young Man — for schools — for study — for individual use — one for the upper classes of every school in the United States.

110

The th Presidency. *Voice of Walt Whitman to the mechanics and farmers of These States, and to each American young man, north, south, east and west.*

Who are the people or nation? For instance, first, workingmen, mechanics, farmers, sailors etc. constitute more than five millions of the inhabitants of These States. Merchants, lawyers, doctors, teachers, priests and the like count up as high as five hundred thousand. The owners of slaves number three . . .

111

Poem. ? The cruise. A cruise.

112

Poem of Fables. A long string, one after another, of Poetical Fables, as Dreams, Spiritualisms, Imaginations.

Now this is the fable of a beautiful statue;

A beautiful statue was lost but not destroyed.

Last piece — still another death song. Death Song with Prophecies.

113

"Every accession of originality of thought," says the author of *Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England,* "brings with it necessarily an accession of a certain originality of style."

114

Signal bell. Warning bell. Ocean bell. Storm bell. Notes.

115

A Cluster of Poems (in the same way as *Calamus Leaves*) expressing the idea and sentiment of Happiness, Ecstatic Life (or moods), Serene Calm, Infantum, Juvenatum, Maturity (a young man's moods), middle age (strong, well-fibred, bearded, athletic, full of love, full of pride and joy), old age (natural happiness, Love, Friendship).

116

Living Pictures. Nowhere in the known world can so many and such beautiful living Pictures be seen as in the United States.

America. Here different from any other country in the world all forms of practical labor are recognized as honorable. The man who tends the President's horses not one whit less a man than the President. The healthy fine-formed girl who waits upon the wealthy lady not less than the wealthy lady. He who carries bricks and mortar to the mason not less than the mason. The mason who lays the bricks not one tittle less than the builder who employs him. The architect and builder of the home no less than . . .

117

Song of the Songs of Democracy of the Future.

The song of women — the song of young men — the song of life, here not elsewhere — the song . . .

118

In Lectures on Democracy. A course of three (or five) comprehending all my subjects under the title.

Come down strong on the literary, artistic, theologic and philanthropic coteries of These States — that they do not at all recognize the one grand over-arching fact, these swift-striding, resistless, all conquering, en masse . . .

Boldly assume that all the usual priests . . . etc. are infidels, and the . . . are Faithful Believers.

119

Poem of Pictures. Each verse presenting a picture of some characteristic scene, event, group or personage — old or new, other countries or our own country. Picture of one of the Greek games — wrestling, or the chariot-race, or running. Spanish bull fight.

120

The Corruption. I will confess to you I do not so much alarm myself — though very painful and full of dismay — at the corruption in all public life.——— It is but an outlet and expression on the surface of something far deeper — namely in the blood.

121

Poemet. Leaf. Chant. Song. Poem. Psalm. Hymn. Warble. Carol. Cavatina. Ballad. Thought. Caprices. Fantasia. Capricea. Sonnet-Trio. Sonnet-Quinto. Sonnet-Duo. Melange. Canticles. Songlet.

122

Appendage. Appendant. Appendix. Supplement —ary. Annex—ed. Appendix-Leaves. Postscript-Leaves. Added-Leaves. Supplement-Leaves. Sur-Leaves (sur, from "supra" ? "super"—over and above—something added, beyond). Plus-Leaves. Leaves-Over-Plus. Surplus Leaves. Leaves Supervenio. Leaves Supervened.

123

Breast Sorrel. Breast Pinks. Breast Currants. Breast Apples. Calamus Roots.

124

Airscud. Airdrift. Loveaxles. Lovepivot. Sleep-ripples. Loveripples. Lovejet. Loveache. Love-string. Glued with Love. Tiller of Love.

125

Native Flames. Moments of Fire. Drops of my Blood. Flames of Confession. Drops of Evil. Flames of Evil. Verses of Evil.

126

It was not the old custom (viz.: To abandon the Chief).

127

Breath and Spray. Breath and Drift. Drift Leaves. Ripples and Drift. Sands and Drift. Eddies and Drift. Tears and Pulses and Breath. Leaves-Droppings. Rain-Drops and Snow. Rain-Drops. Drops of Rain. Falling Snow. Drops of Snow.

128

Poem as in a rapt and prophetic vision — intimating the Future of America.

129

"The Scout." A good name for a poem, a magazine, a newspaper.

130

Lectures on the Future, as for instance:
The America of the Future.
The Church of the Future.

131

Lectures. Ego-style. First-person-style. Style of composition an animated ego-style — "I do not think" — "I perceive" — or something involving self-esteem, decision, authority — as opposed to the cur-

rent *third-person style, essayism, didactic,* removed from animation, stating general truths in a didactic, well-smoothed . . .

132

Secrets — Secreta. ? *Theme for an immense poem,* collecting in running list all the things done in secret.

Poem, vocabularium. ? Names, terms, phrases, glossary, list.

133

Poem of language. How curious. — The immense variety of languages. The points where they differ are not near as remarkable as where they resemble. The simple sounds. Music.

134

See to Roman History. I discover that I need a thorough posting up in what Rome and the Romans were.

135

Poem of the Drum. Cannot a poem be written that shall be alive with the stirring and beating of the drum ? Calling people up ? A reveille to ? ?

136

First to me comes the People, and their typical shape and their attitudes — then the divine minor, Literature.

137

Dr. Bucke's travels, work and experiences 30 to 36 years ago (1854 onward) in a letter from him to an uncle in England.

138

Carols Closing Sixty-Nine. Annex-Leaves to the preceding. Halcyon Days. Carols at Candle-Light and other pieces, 1884–8. Sands on the Shores of Seventy. Annex-Leaves to the preceding. Carols at entering Seventy. Carols at Candle-Light.*

139

Cantaloupe. Muskmelon. Cantabile. Cacique City.

* Titles considered for *November Boughs.*

Part IV

Notes on English History

Part IV

Notes on English History*

OLD theory started or revived by Geoffrey ap Arthur (12th century): That the English part of the islands was "first" populated by a colony of the Trojans, guided, 1000 B.C., by Brutus (whence Britains) a grandson of the great Æneus, more than 2776 B.A., 1000 years before the Christian era.

The Romans themselves pretended to be of Trojan descent — as Æneid.

Gogmagog — a giant before the Trojans—Trojans came 1000 B.C.

Albion, a giant also — son of Neptune.

Samothea (from Samothes, a King of England) a name of Britain after the Trojans.

The Triads, Welsh poetical histories, supposed to be written time of Edward I.

One theory is that (the islands being inhabited

*A series of notes on English history made by Whitman about 1855–6 — must have been made '55 or immediately after, because they are written on the back of unused copies of the fly-title of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass,* which was printed quite early in that year.

by Picts) they were visited and settled by Phœnicians — and that they were the same as the Celts — also that the Picts, or Caledonians, were the ancient Cimbri.

Positively.—The numerous inhabitants found in Samothea at the appearance of the Romans 50 years before Christ — were of Celtic origin. (The British coast is visible from France.)

A political friendliness existed then (50 B.C.) between Gallia and Samothea or Albion.

The names of the towns are Anglo-Saxon — but the hills, rivers, woods etc. are Celtic.

Everything reliable, of the greatest antiquity in Albion is Celtic.

Both Celts and Goths are branches of the same paternal stem — both are Caucasian or Japhetic.

One author (Whitaker 1773) says *Britain* means a separated people — he supposes Britain and France to have been at one time united by land.

Ireland, very anciently, with a highly civilized and renowned people.

Ireland had the name of *Scotia* in the 7th and 8th centuries and was eminent in scholarship and civilization.

Erin, Celtic name of Ireland — Hibernia another form.

Some writers consider the Celts identical with the Persians — Mr. O'Brien makes Ireland a colony of Persia, and the Irish tongue a Persian dialect.

Positive — the Irish tongue is Celtic.

Theory — that the Phœnicians were a branch of Persians.

Positive — from Spain the progenitors of the present population came to Ireland — whoever they were.

Ancient name of Scotland — Caledonia.

"The Scots," the name of the most noted of the Irish tribes.

Picts — they were not Celts but Teutons or Goths, north of Britain, Roman time, painted or tattoo'd people. Had a kingdom and king — till the middle of the 9th century along the east coast of Scotland.

Ossians poems — 1762 — James Macpherson.

Positive — Scottish Highlanders descend from Irish settlers there middle 3rd century.

Erse (Scottish dialect), Irish.

Celts — classical derivation from the Keles (Kelets) a horse — or *Kello,* to move about.

Down to 11th or 12th century by Scots was meant the Irish.

Quite positively, the "original" Scots of Scotland were Irish.

Scot-Scythian — a scattered or wandering people.

Supposed (quite plausibly) that the (Irish original) Scots were really a tribe of Scythians, a people from Germany, from the north of Europe, therefore

of Teutonic blood and language.—If this how can they be Celts ?

Albin or Albion, an ancient name of the island of Great Britain, and that by which it was first known to the Greeks and Romans.

Ierne (Erin, Herne, Hibernia) the ancientest name of Ireland.

Welsh, Wales, consider themselves the hereditary representatives of the natives of Albion before the arrival of the Saxons and even before the Romans.

Cymry or Cymri one of the Welsh names.

Scythia, the north of modern Germany, and Denmark a peninsular of Jutland etc.

Arthur — the chivalrous Welsh (he is the one of the Round Table).

Pictorial History thinks the Welsh (Cymry) are the visible representatives of the Cymri of antiquity.

Migrations.—That of the Celts, thirty-four hundred years before the American era (1600 B.C.) from Western Asia.—That of the Goths twenty-six hundred years before the American era from northwestern Asia.—That of the Slavic races some centuries posterior to the Gothic migration.

Tartars, or Tatars, middle of Asia, toward the Pacific Mongol Tatars.

Phœnician alphabet is the prototype of all these of modern times (its after times).

55 B.C. Julius Cæsar having invaded and conquered Gaul (the present France, Belgium etc.) determined to cross to England. He did so, conquered them. They had helped the Gauls against Cæsar.

Nineteen hundred years ago Albion was a sort of "holy land," a great centre and stronghold of the Druids.

Cæsar landed on the coast of Dover, was met, fought, succeeded.

Cassivellanus — opponent of Cæsar — general of the British contributions — brave — patriotic.

Previous to and at the time of the Roman invasion the life, huts, villages, ways of Albic natives were very much like those of the Ceylonese,* thatched houses, some conical etc. Still, they seem to have made a pretty good fight — had war chariots — were certainly civilized enough to hold their own.

War chariots — these seem to have been great affairs — terrible — dreaded.—They were peculiar to the Britons — some call this a link connecting them with Persia, an old place of such chariots.

Horses.—The ancient Britons had horses — a small tough breed.

Throwing off the clothing when going to fight. All the Celts seem to have had a way of throwing off the clothing when going to fight — Goths too I think.

* *I. e.*, of course, of the Ceylonese in the 19th century.

War Weapons — War British — axes, stones, lances, spears, clubs, cutlasses, heavy pointless swords — the metal used is nearly all copper hardened with tin.

Roman javelin — War Roman — Roman javelin (pilum) six feet long, terminating by a strong triangular point of steel, eighteen inches long.

Helmet etc. Open helmet, lofty crest — breast plate or coat of mail—greaves (plates bent or grooved to the shape of the legs) strong shield carried on the left arm — this shield or buckler, four feet high and two and a-half feet wide, framed with light but firm wood, covered with bull's hide and strongly guarded with knobs of iron or bronze.

Warlike facts of Romans — pages 34 and 35 *Pict. Hist. Eng.*

For 100 years after the departure of Cæsar Britain was left uninvaded by any foreign soldiery — internally there were dissensions and wars among the tribes and kings.

Cæsar did not establish government. Ninety-seven years after Cæsar's departure the Emperor Claudius determined to subjugate and establish government in Britain — making it a Roman province.

A.D. 43 Britons had a great defeat on the banks of the Severn.

Caractacus — British hero of the second Roman invasion.

Claudius himself came to the assistance of his generals to subjugate Britain, returned to Rome after six months absence and was given a triumph.

Massilia — viz., Marseilles.

Proprætor — proprietor. Ostorius, the Roman proprætor, had many fights — was a cautious and shrewd man.

Silures, inhabitants of South Wales.

(Amid all these things Caractacus.)

The final battle. Caractacus gathered his forces, (in North Wales?) in Shropshire — and here was fought the final battle with Ostorius.

Caractacus was taken prisoner soon after, carried to Rome, preserved an undaunted demeanor — his final destiny is unknown.

Dauntlessness of Britons. For twenty years the Britons still resisted, harassing the Romans. Subjugated at length and Roman rule established.

Anglesey (ancient name Mona) "groves of Mona."

Romans wished to destroy the Druidical institutions — the Druids had taken refuge in Anglesey island — the battle — fierceness of the religious excitement.

Romans victorious — destroying the Druids.

Boadicea — widow of the king of a British tribe the Iceni — her wrongs — dignity — energy of character — became the head of a combination against the Roman invaders.

Native British rising under Boadicea. The Romans were forced to retreat from London — the British entered it and slaughtered and ravaged, burnt etc. — A pitched battle was forthcoming. Boadicea mounted on a chariot, her long yellow hair loose, her two daughters with [her] drove through the British ranks and harangued. British were defeated with great loss. Boadicea poisoned herself.

Yet still the British continued more or less rebellious.

Cnæus Julius Agricola now appeared in Roman command. (Tacitus was his son-in-law.) He was a great ruler (perhaps thanks to Tacitus).

Agricola endeavored to improve the British and tame them, governing them wisely.

A.D. 83 — Agricola makes conquest of most parts of the island, goes to Scotland.

Galgacus — the Scotch leader at this time — Scotch defeated.

A.D. 120 — Hadrian, the emperor, visits Britain. 138 — Antoninus Pius. 183 — Commodus emperor. 207 — Emperor Severus, old, landed in Britain (an iron-hearted and iron-framed old man).

Caracalla, son of Severus, departs from Britain. After that a 70 years blank in British history.

Caracalla made the people of the provinces free citizens of the Roman empire.

70 years quiet.

A.D. 288 — Roman reign of Diocletian and Maximian — the Scandinavian and Saxon pirates begin to ravage the coasts of Britain and Gaul. "Old pirates of the Baltic."

Carausius was appointed admiral to destroy the pirates — was charged with collusion — Roman message to put him to death — he set up for himself — gathered the British about him.—The joint Emperors of Rome were fain to purchase peace by conceding him the Government of Britain and of the adjoining coast of Gaul with the title of Emperor.

Under Carausius Britain figures first as a naval power.

297 — Carausius was murdered by Allectus, who succeeded him, and reigned as Emperor three years.

Saxons appear now to be more or less at home in England.

A.D. 296 — On the resignation of the Roman Emperors Britain fell by succession to Constantius Chlorus. 306 — He died at York (Eboracum).

Constantine (afterwards called The Great) then began his reign at York.

Now Britain seems to have enjoyed tranquility till 337.

Roman Government removed from Rome to Constantinople. Roman power decaying.

Franks, Saxons, Picts, Scots etc. harass England.

Romans had various luck in repelling these thieves and pirates.

London, also named Augusta.

A.D. 382 — Maximus set up to be independent Emperor in Britain, had varied success, was at last defeated and put to death by Theodosius the Great — (This monarch reunited the east and west empires).

395 — Theodosius died. He divided by his will the empire he had previously united. All this while the enemies harassed England.

403 — The Roman decadence seem to have been been quite complete. No unanimity, no head, in Britain.

403 — Alaric the Goth ravaging Italy on his way to Rome.

Now the standing soldiery (Romans and others I suppose) in Britain chose one, two, three Emperors — two deposing and put to death directly the third — "Constantine" had a longer time but fell at last.

420 — Under Honorius, after many futile attempts, the Roman rule over Britain finally fell — the governors etc. departed after not quite 300 years.

After 420 — dark for the historian in Britain for some years. It appears that the municipal governments of cities etc. were overthrown by military chieftains of Roman character principally.

"Kings and kinglets of the earth" — now many,

many kinglings — "the miserable weakness of Britain on the breaking up of the Roman government" causes "mad disunion," "horrid crisis."

Coracles (small British boats, for one person) shoals of these.

Thousands of Roman citizens no doubt remained after the departure of the government.

411 — Petitions of the Britons to Ætius, thrice consul, — "The barbarians chase us into the sea — the sea throws us back upon the barbarians," — (no defence rendered by the Romans).

Religious dissensions also. The Britons consumed their time in sectarian disputes.

449 — Vortigern, head of the British as against the Roman party, invites the "hardy freebooters of the Baltic" — the Saxons.

Hengist and Horsa now (perhaps the standards). It appears to have been on the deck of their marauding vessels the Saxons received the invitation.

Druidism seems to have originated in Britain — Anglesey (Mona) was the "holy land." The Druids were judges, arbitrators etc. They had more or less learning — wrote in Greek ? etc.

Doctrine of Metempsychosis — the spirit at death passes into some other body.

Wicker-work frames, filled with living persons, fired, sacrificed to the gods.

Deities — Mercury, Teutates, Taut, Thoth, Mars,

Apollo, Bel, Jupiter (Jove) Minerva. Mercury is probably the same as Bhuda, also Woden.

Gauls supposed themselves descended from Pluto.

They reckoned time by *nights,* not days.

Drui (Greek, an oak, a tree) Dryades, wood deities.

(Mercury figures more largely as a leading deity under various names, through all ancient religions, than I supposed.)

"Cromlech"—the Druidical sacrificial stone—literally, the stone to bow at or worship at.

New year commenced 10th March.

Three orders, the Druids, Vates and Bards. The Bards sung the brave deeds of illustrious men—sometimes composed entreaties, invectives etc. and chanted them to the accompaniment of an instrument resembling the Greek lyre.

"Vates" is frequently used for "poet"—The British Vates were priests and physiologists.

Faidh (modern Irish—"Prophet.")

Druids lived together in communities or brotherhoods.

Kings were sometimes Druids.

(Tiberius or Claudius issued decrees—Claudius 100 A.D., for the extinction of Druidism.)

Three Druidical precepts—to worship the gods, to do no evil, and to behave courageously.

Ancientest Druidical worship—appears to have

been of the sun and other heavenly luminaries — and of fire. Water was also worshipped. The serpent was an emblem of use among them also.

Pythagoras is supposed to have introduced into the Greek metaphysics the idea of the metempsychosis.

Probably both the Druids and Pythagoras drew their philosophy, numbers etc. etc. from the same source (from the Indus or the Nile ?). An oriental origin to all.

The Germans, Goths etc. had no Druids.

Middle of the 5th century — Druidism in Ireland fell under the attacks of St. Patrick.

Rich pagan temples were during the Roman occupancy built in all the cities and large neighborhoods of Britain, to the deities.

A.D. 209—"Even those places in Britain hitherto inaccessible to the Roman arms, have been subdued by the gospel of Christ." Tertullian.

286—St. Alban, the first British Christian martyr, perished (at this time Christianity had numerous followers in Britain).

314 — Christian bishops go from Britain to the great church councils. Arianism was greatly in Britain.

Pelagius, a British monk of the 5th century, who denied original sin, and maintained the merit of good works.

Before the Roman conquest Britain must have been known to the Phœnicians or Tyrians. It was divided into many tribes or nations. On the coast were comparatively new-comers, "Belgians" superior, having their own appearance, laws etc. etc.

"Brigantes" were the leading tribe.

Females ruled indifferently with men, in the supreme power.

Comprehensiveness of the education of a Roman, for leading public office, or eligibility to it — instances of the same man being juris consult, general, public professor of law, pontifex maximus, consul, dictator, — (war, politics, metaphysics, sciences, actual knowledge of the *present* of the earth). Courage, sternness, a hardened tough body — a ready tongue.

Defence of Rome and Romans, pp. 79 and 80, Vol I. *Pict. Hist.*

Rome pursued a generous policy toward subjugated nations — confirmed their municipia, who were charged with their own affairs, viz., religion, administration of municipal revenues, police, certain judicial function. — Some were advanced to the full dignity of the Freedom of *Roman* citizens.

In Britain, under the Romans, there were magnificent public buildings, theatres, baths, palaces,

roads, populous and orderly cities, laws, trades, manufactures, fine wares, travel etc. etc.

Architecture as cultivated by the ancients, spoke not merely to the eye — it spoke far more to the mind.

"Pandect," a treatise that comprehends the whole of any science (the digest of the laws of Justinian) — Justinian A.D. 527–565

Tarshish — (probably a general appellation for the countries lying beyond the Pillars of Hercules).

Ezekiel (Bible) six centuries before Christ.

Tin used by Phœnicians (supposed from Britain) 1500 B.C.

Bronze — Copper and tin.

Brass — Copper and zinc.

Himilco, the Carthegenian navigator, 1000 B.C. Supposed to have voyaged to Britain.

Palmyra (Tadmor of the desert). Supposed to have been founded by Solomon 1000 B.C.

Coracle. — Small boat, formed of ozier twigs, covered with hide.

Lead. — Britain has always produced more lead than all the rest of Europe.

Linen. — The manufacture of cloth (linen), etc. colored various hues, was prevalent in Britain as in Gaul, previous to the Romans.

(The shelfish "mussel," not "muscle.")

Ships. — Vessels "ships" (doubtless small and

rude enough) carried on commerce in Britain from shore to shore, at the Roman times.

Money. — They had money, in rings, or three-quarter rings.

Weights. — It is quite settled that our modern "Troy Weight" and others, are of antiquity long before any reliable dates of Greece, Rome, or any other ancient history.

Tax money — paid to Romans by the inhabitant of Britain — "poll money," "corn money," "sheep money" etc.

Justinian A.D. 527–565.

Vineyards existed in old Britain.

Agriculture was encouraged and improved in Britain by the Romans.

Gael — Gaul — the Scottish Highlanders.

The Druids "were not merely their priests, but their lawyers, their physicians, their teachers of youth, their moral and natural philosophers, their astronomers, mathematicians, architects, poets, and their historians."

They did not *share* their knowledge with the people (do any priests?) — their power depended on its exclusiveness.

Chief Druid obtained his place by election.

Reading and Writing — The Druids had — used a written language — Greek letters, it is supposed — though not the Greek language.

Eloquence was certainly sedulously cultivated by the Britons, Irish, Gauls — indeed by the Celts generally.

"Displays of oratory in all their public proceedings. Harangues by Galgacus, Boadicea and other chiefs."

Druids of Mona, with frenzied appeals and invocations.

The common mother tongue of Englishmen and Americans, uniting the two nations by "a tie lighter than air yet stronger than iron" (Burke).

The Gauls represented their Hercules Ogmius (God of Eloquence) as an old man surrounded by a great number of people, attached to him in willing subjection by slender chains reaching from his tongue to their ears.

"Poetry and its then inseparable accompaniment, music, were doubtless also cultivated by the British and Gallic Druids" or that part of them called the Bards. "Hymners" Strabo calls them.

Mistleto and Vervain — were the vegetables venerated and used in medicaments — as talismans etc.

Druidical religion *full of minute formalities* — are modern religions any different? I see where Druids walked the groves of Anglesey — I see in their hands the mistletoe and Vervain*

* This line first written: "I see the Druids in the groves of Anglesey — I see the sprigs of mistletoe and vervain."—*Then changed to above.* As first used in

O'Brien's *Round Towers of Ireland* assigns the creation thereof to an anterior order of priests, of the Buddhist faith, who far exceeded the Druids in astronomy and learning.

Astronomy was a branch [of learning] of much importance among the Druids — for festivals etc.— certain times of the moon, constellations etc. being important.

"The national religion has been in almost all cases, the principal cement, of the national civilization."

(Don't be too severe on old religious delusions — or modern ones either.)

When the Romans ruled, the Britons adopted largely the Latin language and applied the youth to Latin literature and art.

Schools (Roman) were established in all British towns.

Juvenal.— End of 1st and beginning of 20th century.

Thule (?) was the most northern land known to the ancients (Romans and Greeks).

Manners and customs.

Aboriginal Britons before Cæsar — houses contained rude, plain furniture — tables — stools — beds etc.

1856 edition it stands: "I see where Druids walked the groves of Mona, I see the mistletoe and vervain." The line was not changed after that except to convert "walked" into "walk'd."

Cannibalism is attributed to them.

Personal appearance.—Large limbs, and great muscular strength.

Warlike British weapons—page 121, Vol. I., *Pict. Hist.*

Marriage—"matrimonial clubs"—wives in common. Women were honored and respected.

Not savage neither civilized.—But partaking in parts of both, was the condition (summed up) of the aboriginal Britons, before Cæsar. They probably had wide diversities of condition both from individual to individual, and from tribe to tribe.

From the arrival [of the] Saxons 449 A.D. to that of the Normans 1066 A.D.

Saxon—some say from—Seax, the short Baltic sword—others say from (and this most likely) Sakai-suna, or descendants of the sakai, or Sacae, a tribe of Scythians, who were making their way toward Europe as early as the age of Cyrus.

"Saxons"—name applied to different tribes. They were all of the pure Teutonic or Gothic blood. All their kings claimed descent from Woden or Odin.

Vortigern, smitten with Romena, daughter of Hengist, at a feast—"Dear King—your health" (Wassail).

Saxons settled plentifully—chastised the northern Scots and Picts—soon quarrels arose—Britons

revolted from any obedience to them — Britons and Romish remnants made common cause.

The two centuries after the Saxons' arrival are dark and perplexing historically.

Feast of Reconciliation — Saxons "unsheath your swords" — Britons slain.

Eric son of Hengist, King of Kent.

A.D. 477 — Ella the Saxon, with his three sons, and a large force landed in Sussex — fought — succeeded — King of the "South Saxons."

Cerdric (Wessex) — King of West Saxons.

527 — Ercenwine [?] landing, succeeding, north of the Thames, founded Essex — King of the "East Saxons."

Suffolk — from South folk.

Norfolk — from North folk.

470 — Gaul was overrun by the Visigoths. 12,000 British left Cornwall to take part in this war (!).

Heptarchy — the seven separate and independent States or Kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons. Saxons mixed interpenetratingly with the British, the Roman residuum, and all "Rustics."

A.D. 647 — The Resistants — the people of Strathclyde and Cumbria — their disposition fierce and warlike — retreated fought courageously — defeat followed them — submitted (A.D. 647) to the Anglo-Saxons "who by this time may be called the English." "In this rapid sketch — Saxon conquest — which

seems in amount to have occupied nearly 200 years."

"Arthur" *Pict. Hist.* thinks a mythical personage. — He seems to have been an obstinate and bold resistant of the Saxons.

"Bretwalda" — Lord Paramount "Wielder" of Brit. (the seven States Saxon).

510 — Ella, Sussex (South Saxons).

568 — Calwin, King of Wessex, stepped into the Sussex dignity too.

Ethelbert, fourth King of Kent.

"For long before the Anglo Saxons subdued the Britons they made fierce war upon one another."

593 — Ethelbert became Bretwalda.

Christianity — Ethelbert converted, with all his Court, by Augustine and forty Italian monks, sent into Britain by Gregory the Great.— He had espoused a Christian wife before (which accounts for it).

Ethelbert's close connection with the Christians and civilized nations of the continent, and his frequent having to do with churchmen proved beneficial to England.

Laws. In the code of laws Ethelbert published before his death — indebted to the suggestions and science of foreigners — although the code has more the spirit of the old German lawgivers, than of Justinian and the Roman juris consults. This code was not octroyed as from an absolute sovereign (a

quality to which none of the Saxon princes ever attained), but was enacted by Ethelbert with the consent of the States — formed the first code of written laws promulgated by any of the northern conquerors.

616 — Death of Ethelbert, who seems to have been a thoughtful and superior prince.

616 — Eadbald, son of Ethelbert, enamored of his stepmother, broke with the Christians and returned to the old Teutonic idolatry. The whole Kentish people set up again the rude Scandinavian altars.

The priest Laurentius persuaded Eadbald to come back again to Christianity, and the people, en masse, obsequiously followed.

617 — Bretwalda passed to Redwald, the Angle (the first three Bretwaldas had been Jutes). Redwald was a "kind of Christian."

621 — Edwin the fifth Bretwalda — Northumbrian — converted fully — his people followed. In writing to him (625) the Pope styles Edwin "Rex Anglorum" — King of the Angles.

633 — Penda the Saxon prince of Mercia rebelled.

Walt Whitman and the Children

From a photograph

Part V

List of Certain Magazine and Newspaper Articles Studied and Preserved by Walt Whitman and Found in his Scrapbooks and Among his Papers

Part V

List of Certain Magazine and Newspaper Articles Studied and Preserved by Walt Whitman and Found in his Scrapbooks and Among his Papers

1. An account of Buffon.

2. A long article on "French Literature" under date 4 May, '57.

3. A piece on "Driden and the poet John Clare" dated by W. April, '57.

4. Then follows a long magazine article dated Nov., '45, on "The French Moralists — La Bruyère, Montaigne, Nicole." It has been carefully read and is profusely scored and annotated on the margin.

5. Next we have what seems to be a piece of a paper covered book. It consists of an article on "Civilization" by Guizot translated from his *Hist. Gen. de la Civilization en Europe.*

6. Then quite a long newspaper piece, "The Old Regimé and the Revolution." Dated by W. Oct., '56. He writes at its head, "Deserves re-reading."

7. Now a long magazine article dated Feb., '49,

on, "The Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art." It has been carefully read and is a good deal scored and otherwise marked.

8. A newspaper piece on "Lewes' Life of Goethe."

9. Another on "Goethe in Old Age."

10. A newspaper piece on "Records of Mortality."

11. Another on "James Gates Percival."

12. Next one on "Death and Burial of Edgar A. Poe."

13. Then follows a long magazine article, dated Dec., '46, on Longfellow's "Poets and Poetry of Europe"—has been read carefully, is freely scored and annotated on margin.

14. And another magazine article, Oct., '45, on "Scotch School of Philosophy and Criticism"; the writer speaks of critics "resting on a negative basis, much more industrious to prevent the tenets of others than even to propogate their own" on which W. has marginal note: "As Voltaire for instance, of whom so vast a portion of present writers are followers often without knowing it themselves."

15. At end of this comes a newspaper piece on "Cato the Younger."

16. A newspaper piece on "Cowper," at head of which W. has written, "Cowper 1731—1800—an ennuyeed poet."

17. A newspaper notice of "Emerson's English Traits" — dated in pencil by W. August, 1856.

18. A newspaper report of a lecture on Cowper by Rev. G. B. Cheever.

19. Part of a magazine article on "Beattie's Life of Campbell" — date of magazine July, '49.

20. Newspaper article on "Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell."

21. A newspaper article on "John Bunyan" with following words by W. at head,— "Bunyan 1628 — 1688 — 1688 Swedenborg born."

22. A newspaper report of a speech by Mr. Burke made on St. Patrick's, at foot W. writes — "Brooklyn *Eagle,* 18 March, '57."

23. Some leaves detached from the book to which they belonged containing "Macaulay's Essay on Bunyan" — headed by W. with the words, "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress" — the essay has been carefully read, is much scored and in one place annotated on margin, "Brava!"

24. Magazine article (*Harper,* I think) on "Robert Southey," May, 1851, has been carefully read, freely scored.

25. Another magazine article, same date as 24, on "Waller and Marvell," has been carefully read.

26. A short piece on "Crabbe" annotated.

27. A paragraph headed in W.'s hand: "Great Cockney Poets."

28. Again from same *Harper* (?) May, 1851—a piece, "The Prelude," being a review of Wordsworth poem so named—a marginal note on it runs as follows: "So it seems Wordsworth made a 'good thing' from the start out of his poetry. Legacies! a fat office! pensions from the crown!"

29. A newspaper piece on "the History of the Roman Republic."

30. A newspaper piece on "Death of Auguste Comte."

31. Newspaper piece on "Paolo Giocometti" taken from N. Y. *Herald* 8 Sept., '56.

32. Newspaper cutting headed "An Art Heretic."

33. A magazine article dated Nov., '48, on "Milne's Life of Keats"—closely read.

34. A long article cut from N. Y. *Tribune* on "Douglas Jerrold," dated by W. 23 April, '59.

35. Newspaper piece on the "Revue des Deux Mondes."

36. Part of a magazine article on "Vaughan's Poems etc.," been carefully read, dated May, '49.

37. Magazine article, "Recollections of Poets Laureate, Wordsworth and Tennyson," dated June, '52.

38. Newspaper piece, "Poets Painted by Each Other."

39. A long newspaper piece on "Emerson's English Traits," which was published 1856.

40. A magazine article on "Modern English Poets"—date of magazine Dec., 1851. W. writes on front leaf, "Bells and Pomegranates, Robert Browning. Casa Guidi Windows, Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Dec., '56, Aurora Leigh, a new poem by Mrs. Browning." This last no doubt the date when piece read by W.

41. A piece on Montaigne.

42. A magazine article on "Wordsworth," carefully read and annotated.

43. A poem of Wordsworth's on "The First Mild Day of March."

44. A piece on "Plutarch."

45. A long magazine article, date Oct., '49, on "Tennyson, Shelley and Keats"—carefully read and profusely annotated.

46. A piece on "Jeremy Taylor."

47. On "Tobias Smollet."

48. On "Blaise Pascal."

49. On "Benjamin Franklin."

50. A long, carefully read and much annotated magazine piece (April, '49) on Taylor's "Eve of the Conquest."

51. Coleridge's "Dejection,—an ode." Torn out of the book to which it belonged, and pasted in.

52. A long, carefully read and much scored magazine article (May, '48) on "Tennyson's Poems —The Princess."

53. A long magazine article (April, '49) carefully read and elaborately scored.

54. A long magazine article (Oct., '51) on "The Hyperion of John Keats," carefully read, elaborately scored and annotated on margin.

55. A newspaper piece on "Oliver Goldsmith."

56. Newspaper piece on "Death of Hugh Miller." —N. Y. *Sun,* 13 Jan., '57.

57. Lists of names of arts and sciences pasted in scrapbook and annotated.

58. List of names of capitals pasted in scrapbook and annotated.

59. A geography bound up with scrapbook, has been annotated here and there.

60. Newspaper piece, "How America was Peopled."

61. Newspaper piece, "Remarkable Works of Human Labor."

62. Newspaper piece, "Is the Sun Inhabited?"

63. " " "Comets."

64. " " "The Great Comet."

65. " " "Comets, their History and Habits."

66. Newspaper piece, "Dr. Boynton's Sixth Lecture."

67. Newspaper piece, "Inauguration of Dudley Observatory."

68. Newspaper piece, "Geological Lecture."

69. Long newspaper report of a lecture on the "Progress of Science," New York daily *Times,* 29th Aug., '56.

70. Newspaper report, "The Donati Comet."

71. Long newspaper report of "Scientific Convention at Montreal," 12th Aug., '57.

72. Newspaper report of "Dr. Boynton's Second Lecture."

73. A magazine article dated April, '49, on "The Physical Atlas."

74. Newspaper review of Miller's "Testimony of the Rocks," 10th Oct., '57.

75. Long lists of geographical names pasted in — many of them marked.

76. Newspaper piece, "Raleigh's History."

77. " " "Seven Wonders of the World."

78. "Imagination and Fact" from *Graham's Magazine,* scored and annotated.

79. Newspaper piece, "Gold and Silver in the World."

80. Newspaper piece, "Divisions of the Bible."

81. " " "Comparative Health of the United States."

82. Newspaper piece, "Oldest Man in America."

83. " " "Differences of Time."

84. " " "Ship Building."

85. " " "Tin."

86. Newspaper piece, "Immensity."

87. " " "Temperature of the Earth."

88. Newspaper piece, "Weekly Report of Deaths."

89. Newspaper piece, "Origin of Coal."

90. " " "Scenes on the Ocean Floor."

91. Newspaper piece, "Roads and Railways."

92. " " "Foreign Postage."

93. Newspaper piece, N. Y. *Times,* '57, "Sailing and Steamships."

94. Newspaper piece, "A Translation from a Cuneiform Inscription."

95. Newspaper piece, "The Rossetta Stone."

96. Newspaper report of lecture by W. S. Studley.

97. Newspaper cutting, "Wild Men of Borneo."

98. " " "Fourier and His Ideals."

99. " " "Languages and Religions."

100. Newspaper cutting, "Religious Beliefs."

101. A very long magazine article scored and annotated, "The Slavonians and Eastern Europe."

102. A series of maps showing the geography of various ages from earliest times to 19th century.

103. Newspaper cutting, "Books Mentioned in the Bible now Lost or Unknown."

104. Newspaper cutting, "Bunsen's Chronology."

105. Newspaper cutting, "Discovery of America."
106. " " "Population of the World."
107. Newspaper cutting, "Plants and Animals."
108. " " "Man not Deteriorating."
109. A sort of pamphlet (pasted in) headed, "One Thousand Historical Events." It is scored and annotated.
110. A long magazine article on "Sir John Herschel, of date Feb., '48.
111. A long magazine article on "Layard's Nineveh," of date May, '49.
112. Newspaper cutting on "Key West."
113. A very long magazine article on "Early Roman History," (no date) scored and annotated.
114. Magazine article on "Arnold's Lectures on Modern History," has been carefully read — scored.
115. Newspaper cutting, "Physiology of the Earth."
116. Newspaper cutting, "Statistics of Population and Religion."
117. Newspaper cutting, "Our Country."
118. " " "With whom we Trade."
119. " " "The National Revenue."
120. " " "Who Our Soldiers Are."
121. Newspaper cutting, "List of Patents Issued."

122. Newspaper cutting, "Army and Militia."
123. " " "The State of New York."
124. Newspaper cutting, "The Salt Manufacture."
125. Governor King's message in New York *Times,* 6th Jan., '58.
126. Newspaper cutting, "The Chesapeake and Great Lakes United."
127. Newspaper cutting, "Amount of Salt Made."
128. " " "A Rich Slave Owner."
129. " " "Oyster Beds of Virginia."
130. Newspaper cutting, "The Southern States, by an English Traveler."
131. Newspaper cutting, "Cultivation of Cotton."
132. " " "Products of Texas."
133. " " "Carrying Mail to California."
134. Newspaper cutting, "The Great West."
135. " " "Notes on the Missouri River."
136. Newspaper cutting, "A Letter to the Newsboys."
137. Newspaper cutting, "Killed an Otter."
138. " " "Our Large Pictures."
139. " " "Bridge at St. Louis."
140. " " "Statistics of Ohio."
141. " " "Madison, Wis."

142. Newspaper cutting, "Wisconsin and its Capital."

143. Newspaper cutting, "Lake Superior Copper and Iron."

144. Newspaper cutting, "Oshkosh, Wis."

145. *Harper's Weekly,* 17 Jan., '57 — "Modern Naples."

146. Newspaper cutting, "Glimpses of Iowa."

147. " " "New States."

148. " " "Size of America."

149. " " "Literary Institutions."

150. " " "Crops of '56."

151. " " "U. S. Army."

152. " " "Bayard Taylor in Northern Europe."

153. Newspaper cutting, "The Victoria Bridge."

154. "Scenes in New Brunswick," in *Ballou's Pictorial.*

155. "A Ranger's Life in Nicaragua," *Harper's Weekly,* 25 April, '57.

156. Newspaper cutting, "Product of the Mexican Mines."

157. "News from New Granada," New York *Herald,* 29 March, '57.

158. Newspaper cutting, "Something about the Bay Islands."

159. Newspaper cutting, "The Five Republics of Central America."

160. Newspaper cutting, "Guatemala."

161. " " "Why there is no Rain in Peru."

162. Magazine review article on Prescott's "Peru," under date Aug., '47.

163. A chapter descriptive of the country from a book called, "Travels in Peru."

164. Newspaper cutting, "From Chili."

165. " " "The Commerce of La Plata."

166. Newspaper cutting, "The Brazilian Empire."

167. "The Royal Families of Europe," New York *Herald,* 21 Feb., '58.

168. "European Correspondence," Brooklyn Daily *Eagle,* 11 Dec., '57.

169. "Foreign Correspondence," Brooklyn Daily *Eagle,* 9 Jan., '58.

170. Magazine article on "Present State of the British Empire."

171. Newspaper cutting, "A Tunnel from England to France."

172. "Excursion to Pompeii," Burlington *Free Press,* 1 Jan., '58.

173. "Italian Travel," New York *Times,* 26 Dec., '57.

174. A newspaper piece, "From Rome"—W.'s note at head of it: "A Traveling Sight-seer's Day in Rome—the usual things to look after—an artist-

teacher — his studio — well written — rollicking. Date is March, 1857."

175. "Bayard Taylor in Southern Europe," a letter dated 27 April, '58 — printed in New York *Tribune.*

176. "The Sultan and his People," *Am. Phrenological Journal,* May, '57.

177. On the "Egyptian Museum" in *Life Illustrated,* 8 Dec., '55.

178. Correspondence from Amsterdam, Brooklyn Daily *Eagle,* 12 Oct., '58.

179. Long newspaper piece — letter from Copenhagen, dated 11 Aug., '57.

180. Long newspaper piece — letter from Stockholm, 19 Aug., '57.

181. Bayard Taylor, letter from St. Petersburg, in New York *Tribune,* 2 Nov., '58.

182. A newspaper piece, "The Census of Russia."

183. " " "Railroads of Russia," N. Y. *Tribune,* April, '57.

184. A newspaper piece, "Russian Serfs."

185. " " "Different African Races."

186. A newspaper piece, "The French in Algeria."

187. " " "The Nile."

188. " " "Population of Egypt."

189. "Barth's Travels in Africa," *Harper's Weekly,* 12 Sept., '57.

190. Long newspaper piece on "Barth's Discoveries in Central Africa."

191. Long newspaper piece on "Travels in Egypt."

192. Long newspaper piece on "Livingstone's Travels in Africa."

193. Long newspaper piece on "Capital of Egypt."

194. "Sketches in Sierra Leone" in *Ballou's Pictorial.*

195. Newspaper piece, "The Sphynx."

196. "Livingstone's Travels etc. Africa," Brooklyn Daily *Eagle.*

197. Newspaper piece, "Rev. Dr. Livingstone."

198. " " "Travels in South Africa."

199. Long piece *re* RR. Mediteranean to Persian Gulf, New York *Tribune,* 20th March, '57.

200. Newspaper piece on "Jerusalem."

201. Magazine article on "The River Jordan and the Dead Sea."

202. "About Moscow in Russia," *Life Illustrated,* N. Y., 6th Dec., '56.

203. A long newspaper piece on "The Rivalry between England and Russia and Asia."

204. A long newspaper piece on "Sectarianism Among the Turks."

205. A long newspaper piece on "The Holy Land."

206. A long newspaper piece on "Royal Family of Persia."

207. Newspaper piece, "Overland Mail to India and China."

208. Newspaper piece, "Geographical Discoveries of a Quarter of a Century."

209. Newspaper piece, "How Ghoorkas Can Whip Sepoys."

210. A long newspaper piece, "The Indian Empire."

211. A long newspaper piece, "Annexation in India."

212. Newspaper piece, "The Hunting in India."

213. " " "The Revolt in India."

214. A long newspaper piece, "The Nucleus of the Indian Mutiny."

215. A long newspaper piece, "British Empire in India," Oct., '57.

216. "History of the East India Company," *Harper's Weekly,* 24 Oct., '57.

217. "Juggernauth," *Harper's Weekly,* 26th Sept., '57.

218. Newspaper piece, "Burmah."

219. " " "Lecture on India."

220. " " "Commercial Relations with Siam."

221. Newspaper piece, "Interests of Russia in China."

222. Newspaper piece, "The Two Kings of Siam."

223. Newspaper piece, "Printing in China."

224. " " "Mantchoo Tartars."

225. " " "Emperor of China."

226. " " "A Brief History of China."

227. "China—History of Allied Expedition," N.Y. *Times,* 20 Aug., '58.

228. "The Chinese," *Harper's Weekly,* 25 April, '57.

229. Magazine article, "The Central Nation" (i. e. China), April, '52.

230. A magazine article, "China and the Chinese," April, '57.

231. Newspaper piece, "Migrations of Chinese."

232. " " "Navigation of the Yang-tse-Kiang."

233. Newspaper piece, "A Day Among the Whales in the Sea of Japan."

234. Newspaper piece, "Japanese Becoming Less Exclusive."

235. Long newspaper piece, "Cruise of Sloop of War *John Adams,*" 16 Jan., '57.

236. Long newspaper piece, "Japan."

237. Newspaper piece, "The Turkish Question."

238. " " "Indians in Oregon and Washington."

239. Newspaper piece, "The Gila Expedition."
240. " " "The Gila Gold Mines."
241. " " "Dr. De Hass on American Antiquities."
242. Newspaper piece, "Utah and the Great Basin," 1 Jan., '59.
243. Long newspaper piece, "Exploration of the Amoor," 21 Dec., '58.
244. Long newspaper piece, "Saginaw Valley."
245. " " " "Central America."
246. " " " "Russian Settlements on Amoor River," 21 Dec., '57.
247. Long newspaper piece, "Physical Constitution of the Sun."
248. "Preadamite Man," Brooklyn daily *Eagle,* 24 Oct., '60.
249. Long newspaper piece, "Pacific Railroad—Overland to California."
250. Long newspaper piece, "The Great Pacific Railway Treasury Robbing."
251. Long newspaper piece, "Overland Communication with the Pacific."
252. Long newspaper piece, "Life in the Pacific Territories."
253. "India, Its Physical Features etc.," Brooklyn Daily *Eagle,* 16 Mar., '59.
254. Very long newspaper piece, "The Russian Empire."

255. Newspaper report of an oration by Edward Everett at Albany, 28 Aug., '56.

256. Report of American Association for the Advancement of Science—Albany meeting, 22 Aug.,'56.

257. Newspaper paragraph, "The Proposed Territory of Arizona."

258. Long newspaper piece, "Fisheries of Puget Sound."

259. Long newspaper piece, "Am. Ass. for the Advancement of Science"—27 Aug., '56.

260. Long newspaper piece, "Am. Ass. for the Advancement of Science"—23 Aug., '56.

261. Long newspaper piece, "Am. Ass. for the Advancement of Science"—25 Aug., '56.

262. "Scientific Congress," N. Y. *Herald,* 28 Aug., '56.

263. "Scientific Congress," N. Y. *Herald,* 26 Aug., '56.

264. Newspaper piece, "Raleigh."

265. " " "Bacon."

266. " " on Delia Bacon.

267. " " "Character of Lord Bacon."

268. Newspaper piece, "Shakespeare."

269. " " "Shakespeare as a Man."

270. " " "Shakespeare's Stage."

271. " " "The Stage in Shakespeare's Time."

272. Magazine article, "Samuel Johnson."

273. Newspaper report of oration on "Shakespeare," by Richard O'Gorman, dated 21 April, '57.

274. Magazine article, "Shakespeare vs. Sand," dated May, '47.

275. Newspaper piece, "Philip Massinger."

276. " " "Thos. Dekker."

277. " " "Hume."

278. " " "The New Jerusalem."

279. " " "Voltaire."

280. " " "Beranger."

281. " " "Pierre Jean de Beranger."

282. " " "Death of Beranger."

283. " " "Beranger's Lyrics."

284. " " "Shakespeare — His Life and Text."

285. Magazine article, "Shakespeare's Sonnets."

286. "The Works of Alexander Pope," *North British Review,* Aug., '48, scored and annotated.

287. "Imitation of Horace — by Pope" — torn from a book and pasted in.

288. Magazine article, "Robert Southey," date Feb., '51.

289. Newspaper piece, "Robert Burns."

290. Several leaves apparently torn from a book — "Scottish Poetry" — selections.

291. Newspaper report of lecture by Milburn on "Dante and Milton."

292. Newspaper piece, "Dr. William Harvey."

293. Magazine article, "Egotism," date March, '45.

294. Newspaper piece, "Joseph Addison."

295. " " "David Hume."

296. " " "Dean Swift."

297. " " "Poverty of Poets."

298. " " "Vanity of Poets."

299. Magazine article, "Characteristics of Shelley."

300. Shelley's "Ode to the Sky-Lark," apparently torn out of a book and pasted in. N.B.—Seems as if W. had a book or books of selections and that he used leaves from it to fill out pictures of men which were made up in his scrapbooks by newspaper pieces etc. etc.

301. "Ancient English Popular Ballads," some half-dozen leaves torn from a book and pasted in.

302. "John Wickliffe," from a book.

303. "Geoffrey Chaucer," from a book.

304. Newspaper piece, "John Froisart."

305. "Chaucer," torn from a book and pasted in, much scored and annotated.

306. Newspaper piece, "William Hazlitt."

307. "Literature of the Age of Elizabeth," torn from a book and pasted in, much scored and annotated.

308. Magazine article, "Sir Philip Sidney."

309. "Editor's Table," annotated.

310. Spencer's "Hymn of Heavenly Beauty," torn from a book and pasted in.

311. Magazine article, "Literature of Middle Ages," dated July, '49, much scored and annotated.

312. "Death of Gerard de Nerval," N. Y. *Tribune,* 17 Feb., '55.

313. Newspaper piece, "Alexander Von Humboldt etc."

314. Magazine article, "Chaucer," profusely scored and annotated.

315. Newspaper piece, "Our Poets."

316. " " "Owen Meredith."

317. " " "Ages of some Living writers."

318. Newspaper piece, "The Waverley Novels."

319. " " "English and Scottish Ballads."

320. Newspaper piece, "The Poet Jasmin."

321. " " "Ossian's Hymn to the Sun."

322. Newspaper piece, "Margaret Fuller on Ossian."

323. "Ossian," torn from a book.

324. "Macpherson," torn from another book.

325. "The Fine Arts," torn from a book.

326. Newspaper piece, "Chinese Popular Literature."

327. Magazine article, "Chaucer," dated Feb., '49.

328. Newspaper piece, "Death of Alfred de Musset, called The French Tennyson."

329. Newspaper piece, "The Saga."

330. "Provençal and Scandinavian Poetry," *Edinburgh Review,* July, '48, much scored and annotated.

331. "A Turkish Ode—Mesihi," torn from a book.

332. Newspaper piece, "Persian Poetry."

333. Leaves from a book, "Gems of Wisdom."

334. "Golden Verses of Pythagoras," torn from a book.

335. Newspaper piece *re* Siamese poetry.

336. " " "Chronology of the Hindoos."

337. Leaves torn from a book, "The Psalms."

338. Magazine article, "Indian Epic Poetry," dated Oct., '48, much scored and annotated.

339. "The Hindu Drama," magazine article dated April, '57, much scored and annotated.

340. "Thackeray and Carlyle," newspaper piece.

341. Extract from Carlyle's "Past and Present," torn from a book, annotated.

342. Newspaper piece, "Leigh Hunt."

343. " " "England During War."

344. Leaves torn from a book on the "Heetopades of Veeshnoo Sarma."

345. "Adam's Morning Hymn" (Milton), a piece torn from a book.

346. Newspaper piece, "Daily Life of Milton."

347. " " "Horace and Byron."

348. Newspaper report of lecture by G. W. Curtis on "English Fiction."

349. Magazine piece on "Plato."

350. "Anacreon," a piece torn from a book.

351. Newspaper piece, "Juvenal and Perseus."

352. "Christopher under Canvas," torn from a book, much scored and annotated.

353. Scrap torn from a book on "Science."

354. "Orestes: a Tragedy," torn from a book, annotated.

355. Newspaper piece on "Pindar."

356. " " "Ages of Foreign Living Writers."

357. Magazine article, "Petrarch," May, '45.

358. Newspaper piece, "Future America."

359. " " "Travel."

360. " " "Night in Australia."

361. " " "Snelling."

362. " " "Size of a Whale."

363. " " "A Day on a Rice Plantation."

364. Newspaper piece, "An Enormous Ape."

365. " " "Senseless Brains."

366. " " "The Senses."

367. Newspaper piece, "The Army Men in Portland."

368. Newspaper piece, "Nicknames."

369. " " "American Inventions."

370. " " "Origin of the Name America."

371. Newspaper piece, "A Well-Balanced Mind."

372. " " "Attraction Between the Sexes." Two last very much scored.

373. Magazine — "The Social Revolutionist," July, '57. Some of articles scored.

374. Newspaper piece, "Remarkable Individual."

375. " " "Longevity."

376. " " "Phrenology."

377. " " another piece on "Longevity."

378. Newspaper piece, "The Chaplain Elect of the House."

379. Newspaper piece, "Cheerfulness."

380. " " "Personal Magnetism."

381. " " "The Standard Civilized Head."

382. Newspaper piece, "Night Eating."

383. " " "Heathen Gods and Goddesses."

384. Newspaper piece, "The Muses."

385. Magazine (*Edinburgh Review*) article, April, '49, "On Books."

386. Magazine (*Edinburgh Review*) article, April, '49, "Recorded Ages Attained by Man."

387. Newspaper piece, "A Good Old Age."

388. " " "Population of the World."

389. Newspaper piece, "Poetical Works of Gerald Massey."

390. Newspaper piece, "Book-making in the United States."

391. Newspaper piece, "Newspapers in the World."

392. Newspaper piece, "Literature and the Book Trade in the United States."

393. Newspaper piece, "Industrial Intelligence."

394. Magazine article, "The Vanity and the Glory of Literature," April, '49.

395. Newspaper piece, "Sanscrit Professorship at Cambridge," April, '49, much scored and annotated.

396. Newspaper piece, "Socratic Philosophy."

397. " " "Culture."

398. " " "Robert Burns."

399. " " "Counsel."

400. Magazine article, "Progress — Its Law and Cause," April, '57, much scored and annotated.

401. Magazine article, "Literature and Society," April, '57, much scored.

402. Torn from a book, "What is Poetry?"; much scored and annotated.

403. Newspaper piece, "Homer in English Hexameters."

404. Magazine article, "Translators of Homer," much scored and annotated.

405. Long newspaper piece (N. Y. Daily *Tribune,* 10 Feb., '70), "Mr. Bryant's Translation of Homer."

406. Magazine review of "Bryant's Translation of the Iliad."

407. Newspaper cutting, "The Unity of the Bible," scored.

408. Newspaper cutting, "The Physique of the Brain from a Literary Life," scored.

409. Newspaper cutting, "Walking."

410. Newspaper cutting, "Human and Animal Magnetism," long piece, much scored.

411. Newspaper cutting, "Life-force — Its Philosophy," long piece, much scored.

412. Magazine article, date Dec., '51, "Theories of Evil," much scored and annotated.

413. Newspaper piece on a Russian poet, Akinf Jwanowitch Ul'Jonov.

414. Newspaper piece on "Contemporary Russian Literature," N. Y. *Tribune,* 26 March, '57.

415. Newspaper piece, "The Winds."

416. Magazine article on "Festus," date Dec.,' 45.

417. " " "Hymn of Callimachus: a translation."

418. Magazine article on "Miss Barrett's Poems," date Jan., '45.

419. "Resumé of Life of Rogers," in *Am. Phrenological Journal* for Aug., '56.

420. Magazine article, Jan., '51, "Lessing's Laocoön," much scored and annotated.

421. Magazine article, Sept., '55, on "Rachel."

422. A long newspaper piece ('57) on the "Death of Eugene Sue."

423. A piece torn from a book, "Criticism on Don Quixote."

424. Magazine article by J. D. W., Jan., '46, "Phrenology — a Socratic Dialogue," good deal scored.

425. Magazine article, "On Style" (W. W. writes at top, "By J. D. Whelpley, I think"), very freely scored.

426. Piece torn from a book on "Chaucer," freely scored.

427. Piece torn from a book on "American Literature." W. W. writes on it, "Margaret Fuller." So probably by her.

428. Newspaper piece on "Hiawatha and Kalewala," showing that former imitated from latter.

429. Piece torn from a book: "A short Essay on Critics." Much scored.

430. Piece torn from a book: "Poet Critic."

431. Piece torn from a book: "Writings of Cornelius Mathews." W. W. writes: "By W. G. Simms. Very fine."

432. A magazine piece (Sept., '55), "New English Poets."

433. A magazine piece (May, '47), "The Prose Writers of America."

434. A magazine piece, "New Poetry in New England."

435. Magazine article (April, '52,) "Styles, American and Foreign."

436. Newspaper cutting, "Mr. Gottschalk's Soiree."

437. Torn from a book, "Poetry of Spain."

438. Magazine article (May, '39), "America and the Early English Poets."

439. Magazine article (May, '45), "Thoughts on Reading," much scored and annotated.

440. Magazine article, "The Pleasures of the Pen," Jan., '47.

441. Magazine article (March, '47), "Localities of the Learned."

442. Magazine article, (April, '47), "Last Words of the Learned."

443. Newspaper piece on "Death of Quintana, Prince of Castilian Poets."

444. Magazine article (Feb., '45), "Words," scored.

445. Newspaper piece on "Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*," W. W. writes on its margin: "Letter, N. Y. Daily *Times*, Dec., '55.

446. Magazine article (Sept., '49), "The Strayed Reveller."

447. Newspaper piece on "Victor Hugo."

448. Magazine article (March, '53), "To the Author of 'The Poet.'"

449. "The Book Trade," N. Y. *Herald*, 6 Dec., '57.

450. "Literary Prospects of the Season," N. Y. *Herald*, 11 Sept., 56.

451. Magazine article (Sept., '55), "New English Poets."

452. Newspaper piece on "Isaac Watts."

453. " " "Prof. Henry." — W. W. writes on margin: "Aug. 23, 1856 — *Eagle.*"

454. Newspaper piece on opera *Saffo*.

455. " cutting, "The Rejected Poem."

456. " " Emerson's "Brahma."

457. " " "Statistics of the Book Trade."

458. Newspaper cutting, "Songs of England and Scotland."

459. Newspaper cutting, "John Greenleaf Whittier."

460. "Moose Hunting in Canada," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*, 15 Jan., '59.

461. Newspaper piece, "Remittances to the Old Country," dated by W. W., Feb., '54.

462. Newspaper piece, "Arrival of the *Antarctic* at Liverpool," Jan., '54.

463. Newspaper piece, "Necessity of a Pacific R. R.," 26 Nov., '58.

464. Newspaper piece, "An Ancient Relic."

465. " " "Importance of the Compass."

466. Newspaper piece, "Sleigh-riding."

467. Magazine piece, "Prospects of the Legal Profession in America," Jan., '46.

468. Magazine piece, "Ancient Practice of Painting," April, '49.

469. Magazine piece, "Society and Civilization," by John Quincy Adams, July, '45.

470. Magazine piece, "Sismondi the Historian," April, '47.

471. Newspaper piece on "Wild Animals and Fish."

472. Newspaper piece, "The Lost Arts."

473. " " "Fugitive Slave Case."

474. " " "Colonization of American Continent."

475. Newspaper piece on "National Dances."

476. " " "Lowest Class of Animals."

477. Newspaper piece on "An American Woman in Paris," 24th Dec., '53.

478. Newspaper piece on "Chivalry."

479. " " "Dr. Boynton's Sixth Lecture on Geology."

480. Newspaper piece on "Interesting Slave Trial."

481. Newspaper piece on "The Wyandotte," April, '54.

482. Newspaper piece on "American Travel," Oct., '53.

483. Newspaper piece on "Cruelty of the Persians."

484. Newspaper piece on "Humboldt's Cosmos."

485. Newspaper piece on "Facts from History," dated by W. W., "*Tribune,* 27 March, '54."

486. Newspaper piece on "Negro Saturnalia."

487. " " "Ascent of Mount Popocatepetl," dated by W. W., "*Tribune,* 23 March, '54."

488. Newspaper piece on "France — Americans at Court," Paris, 9 Jan., '54.

489. Newspaper piece on "Sentiments of the Mormons."

490. Newspaper piece on "Modern Books and Libraries."

491. Newspaper piece on "Errors in Printing Bible."

492. Newspaper piece on "Lecture on France," 27 Jan., '54.

493. Newspaper piece on "Animal Life on the Globe," 21 Feb., '59.

494. Magazine article, "Journalism," Sept., '46.

495. Torn from a book, "Hume," "Washington," "Napoleon Bonaparte," "Aurengzebe."

496. Newspaper piece, "Division of Time by the Ancient Nations."

497. Newspaper piece, "New England and the African Slave Trade."

498. Newspaper piece, "The Tombs of Egypt."

499. " " "Trilobites."

500. "Cosmos Clock," in *American Phrenological Journal,* March, '54.

501. Newspaper piece, "A Chapter on Navies and Naval Curiosities."

502. Newspaper piece, "The Amazon Basin."

503. The New York *Clipper,* 30 Oct., '58, containing full account of fight between Heenan and Morrissey.

504. Magazine article, "Architecture," April, '49.

505. "Niebuhr," *North British Review,* Feb., '49. —W. W.'s note: "Founder of a New Theory of History."

506. Magazine article, "Physiognomy," Jan., '52.

507. " " "Margaret Fuller Ossoli," April, '52.

508. Magazine article, "Lyell's Geological Tour," Sept., '45.

509. Magazine article, "Life and Times of Wm. H. Crawford," April, '52.

510. Magazine article, "Christopher Under Canvas," Aug., '49.

511. Magazine article, "Constantinople in the 4th Century."

512. Magazine article, "The Germanic Empire," July, '48.

513. Magazine article, "The Mississippi Valley," May, '47.

514. Magazine article, "Ireland," May, '47.

515. " " "Laws of Menu," May, '45.

516. "The Dying Gladiator," The *Penny Magazine,* 12 Jan., '33.

517. Magazine piece, "The American Mind," *Harper's,* no date.

518. Magazine piece, "Botany," July, '49.

519. " " "Nationality in Literature," March, '47.

520. Magazine piece, "System of Positive Philosophy," scored, March, '47.

521. Magazine piece, "Physical Atlas," August, '48.

522. " " "Narrative of the French Revolution of 1848," *North British Review,* May, '48.

523. Magazine article, "Herschel — Southern Heavens," July, '48.

524. Magazine article, "Physical Geography," May, '48.

525. Magazine article, "Hungary," July, '49.

526. " " "Earthquakes in New Zealand," *Westminster Review,* July, '49.

527. "The Philosophy of Art," by Charles G. Leland, in *Sartain's Magazine,* no date.

528. "The Head of Christ," Leland, *Sartain's Magazine,* no date.

529. Newspaper piece, "Taste."

530. " " "Political Division of World."

531. Newspaper piece, "Tammany Hall."

532. Magazine article, "Architecture," April, '49.

533. "The Romantic in Literature and Art," C. G. Leland, *Sartain's Magazine,* no date. W. notes in pencil: "This essay has many good suggestions, its principal fault is that 'Romantic' is not the right word to use as used in it (what should be the word?)"

534. Newspaper piece, "Populousness of China."

535. Magazine article, "The Legal Profession, Ancient and Modern," Sept., '46.

536. Magazine article, "Sacred and Legendary Art," April, '49.

537. Magazine article, "Indian Mounds."

538. New York *Herald,* 31 Oct., '58, "Overland Route to the Pacific."

539. Newspaper piece on "Indians of Long Island."

540. Newspaper piece on "Singular Fact."

541. " " "Grains, Vegetables and Flowers."

542. Magazine article, "Historical Traditions of Tennessee," March, 1852.

543. Magazine article, "Copper Regions," Oct., 1846.

544. Magazine article, "A Second Visit to the United States by Sir Charles Lyell," July, 1849.

545. Newspaper piece — Lecture by Rev. Dr. Duryea on "The Mind."

546. Jowett's "Translation of Plato," New York *Tribune,* 31 March, 1871.

547. Newspaper piece on "Ages of Persons in England and Wales."

548. Newspaper piece, on "Old New York Families."

549. Newspaper piece on "Pathology of Consumption."

550. Newspaper piece on "Starvation."

551. "Robert Stuart," New York *Tribune,* 22 Oct., 1853.

552. Newspaper piece, "General Resources of the Plains."

553. Magazine article, "Colds."

554. "Philosophy, Psychology and Metaphysics," *Eclectic Magazine,* April, 1871— reprinted from *North British Review.*

The Growth of "Leaves of Grass"

By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D.

The Growth of "Leaves of Grass"

I.—A Unique Composition

LEAVES OF GRASS has a marked tectonic quality. The author, like an architect, drew his plans, and the poem, like a cathedral long in building, slowly advanced to fulfilment. Each poem was designed and written with reference to its place in an ideal edifice. The *Inscriptions* form a façade, prophesying the content of the interior. The *Song of Myself* is the main structure, with subsidiary and corroborating poems of sex, comradeship, nationality, and nature. *Drum-Taps* occupies the central position, looking both backward and forward, the unifying dome. The later poems are like altars, burning incense; as through a rosewindow the author looks Eastward to primal thought and realms of Bibles, breathing prayer.

The symbol of a cathedral, however, does not exactly serve in that it is too suggestive of mechanical production. The development of the poem was more organic than the building of a formal structure. The volume is better understood perhaps when

considered as a growth and as related to the author's own life process. Its successive stages have the vital rather than the mechanical connection. Whitman himself always spoke of his poems as "leaves." There was, then, the seed purport of 1855. Succeeding editions have the character of expansive growths, like the rings of a tree, or like a stag's antlers, or like the evolution of one's own being. Each edition has identity with every other edition, the same central heart, yet each is cumulative. The very form is vital, like the fibres of growing things, admitting of substitution, adjustment, or extension. Lines and poems were added, subtracted, or reshaped as the author's own life purpose was fulfilled. I know of no other poem that exhibits such fidelity to the history of a human soul. Langland's *Piers Plowman* has certain features of resemblance, but the experience of the earlier mystic was simple and circumscribed, while Whitman's was composite and universal. In *Leaves of Grass* a human soul (Whitman's ostensibly, the race's in reality) is urged to expression by resistless creative impulses from within. It moves freely also among materials and absorbs and transmutes the shows of outward nature into forms of its own life. By creation from within and by absorption from without it attains identity and individuality, and attaining identity, puts on immortality and universality. It sings therefore the joys

of its individual existence, the songs of one's self, and the joys of its universal relationship, the songs democratic, the songs of sex, brotherhood, and immortality. It disciplines itself by undergoing special experiences in the guise of pain and evil. But with the full knowledge of death it joyfully meets its translation. Of such growths and translations no other book has equal record.

II.—The Foreground

At the appearance of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855 Emerson divined that for such a start the book must have had a long foreground somewhere. Heredity, home training, and the environment of Long Island, constituted a beginning. But the fifteen years in Brooklyn and New York, during which Whitman absorbed the life of the cities with unusual curiosity, formed the special gestation period of the first volume. "Remember," the poet once said, "the book arose out of my life in Brooklyn and New York from 1838 to 1855, absorbing a million people with an intimacy, an eagerness, an abandon, probably never equaled." By such means he was fully prepared, as Carlyle noted, to be the poet of his age.

He had written stories and "sentimental bits" for the press from his youth. These are for the most part commonplace. One long temperance tale, entitled *Franklin Evans,* written in 1841 or 1842, was

thought worthy to fill a complete number of the *New World.* The piece that encouraged Whitman to turn definitely to literature was a prose sketch of considerable power describing a death in a school-room. Published in 1841, it was widely copied in the press, and its success elated the author. In these writings, however, there is no promise of the poet of *Leaves of Grass.* Either Whitman was cherishing his ulterior purpose in secret, meanwhile trying his hand at conventional things, or else there came to him at about the age of thirty some remarkable accession of power which is not easy to describe or explain. It is certain that without any outward change he passed from temporal products to the composition of poems destined to immortality. *Leaves of Grass* probably began to take shape in his mind early in the fifties. He brooded over his plan for a long period. The first definite conception was formed in perhaps 1853 or 1854. It was in 1854 that he hung up in his room the motto, "Make the Work." At that time he was profitably engaged in house building, but he abandoned this occupation for the ideal task. He went strangely about his new business. He became an observer of men and things. His workshop was the street, wharves, ferryboats, the seaside and the fields. Visitors to Long Island would find him lying on his back in the sun, an idle poetsmith —such as Helen Hunt Jackson describes—with whom

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Whitman's Nurse, Mary Davis, and Whitman's Dog

From a photograph

"the powers of the air" might be in league. He wrote on scraps of paper and in little note-books in a moody reflective way. He wrote in churches, lecture halls, theaters, the opera, preferring, however, the vantage seat of an omnibus on Broadway. His book must have the merit of being written directly from living impulses and impromptu sights. "The first time I ever wanted to make anything enduring," he once said, "was when I saw a ship under full sail and had the desire to describe it directly as it seemed to me." After many efforts at composition, after three or four complete revisions and rewritings of manuscripts, having some trouble in leaving out the stock literary touches, he began at Brooklyn to put his poetical matter into type with his own hand. *Leaves of Grass* appeared in 1855, a large, thin, rather odd looking volume. As is well known, it was greeted with laughter, condemnation, and anger. Only Emerson, and perhaps Thoreau, understood its purport, though certain reviews, notably one in *Putnam's Magazine,* were disposed to give it favorable mention. The author went out into Long Island during the late summer and fall of this year, reviewed his purpose, confirmed his resolutions, and returned to New York determined to carry out his enterprise in his own way. This period was the happiest time of his life. After awhile Emerson's letter of greeting came — that letter which has ever been referred to

as the sheet-anchor of the faith in Whitman's greatness.

"DEAR SIR:—I am not blind to the worth of the wonderful gift of *Leaves of Grass*. I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed. I am very happy in reading it, as great power makes us happy. It meets the demand I am always making of what seems the sterile and stingy Nature, as if too much handiwork or too much lymph in the temperament were making our Western wits fat and mean. I give you joy of your free and brave thought. I have great joy in it. I find incomparable things, said incomparably well, as they must be. I find the courage of treatment which so delights us, and which large perception only can inspire.

"I greet you at the beginning of a great career, which yet must have had a long foreground somewhere, for such a start. I rubbed my eyes a little, to see if this sunbeam were no illusion; but the solid sense of the book is a sober certainty. It has the best merits—namely, of fortifying and encouraging."

III.—His Purpose

It is perhaps not difficult to follow the reflections of Whitman's mind during the period of his poem's conception. His meditations are recorded in prefaces and other prose notes, in journals and in conversations, in *By Blue Ontario's Shore* and other

poems. Among his journal notes I find many passages declarative of his intentions in writing *Leaves of Grass* — notes that seem to be directions to himself, as if the subconscious mind were dictating what should be done:

"Poet! beware lest your poems are made in the spirit that comes from the study of pictures of things — and not from the spirit that comes from the contact with real things themselves."

"I to-day think it would be best *not at all* to bother with arguments against the foreign models or to help American models — but *just go on supplying American models.*"

"Rules for composition — A perfectly transparent, plate-glassy style, artless, with no ornaments, or attempts at ornaments, for their own sake — they only looking well when like the beauties of the person or character by nature and intuition, and never lugged in to show off, which nullifies the best of them, no matter when and where."

"Take no illustrations whatever from the ancients or classics, nor from the mythology, nor Egypt, Greece, or Rome — nor from the royal and aristocratic institutions and forms of Europe. Make no mention or allusion to them whatever except as they relate to the new, present things — to our country — to American character or interests. Of specific mention of them, even for these purposes, as little as possible."

"A poem which more familiarly addresses those who will in future ages understand me. (Because I write with reference to being far better understood then than I can possibly be now.)"

"Write a new burial service. A book of new things."

"All through writings preserve the equilibrium of the truth that the material world, and all its laws, are as grand and superb as the spiritual world and all its laws."

In conversation he once said:

"The idea in all my poetry is that there is something behind — something behind."

The Preface of 1855, remarkable for its eloquence, vigor and nobility of thought, is one of his most significant utterances respecting the theory of poetry — almost as significant an utterance as the poems themselves. The Preface contains the theory; the poems illustrate what might be done. His theories, fully elaborated, appear again in *Democratic Vistas* in 1871 and in later prose passages and poems.

From these notes and documents it appears that three dominant convictions determined the content of the message of *Leaves of Grass*. The first related to the inherent greatness of men and women, however evil their tendencies, and to the greatness and surpassing virtue of the cosmical order itself, even though monsters and greed and crime issued perpet-

ually in creation. The second had reference to the eligibility of the United States to be the seat of a pure democracy, the abiding place of countless free personalities. The third grew out of his sense of the failure of literature to satisfy the requirements of the modern man in the American lands and days. In an early letter that dates from this period Whitman wrote to a friend:

"I assume that poetry in America needs to be entirely recreated. On examining with anything like deep analysis what now prevails in the United States, the whole mass of poetical works, long and short, consists either of the poetry of an elegantly weak sentimentalism, at bottom nothing but maudlin puerilities, or more or less musical verbiage, arising out of a life of depression and enervation, as their result; or else that class of poetry, plays, etc., of which the foundation is feudalism, with its idea of lords and ladies, its imported standard of gentility, and the manners of European high-life-below-stairs in every line. . . . Instead of mighty and vital breezes, proportionate to our continent with its powerful races of men, its tremendous historic events, its great oceans, its mountains and its illimitable prairies, I find a few little sickly fans languidly moved by shrunken fingers."

With clear vision Whitman saw the need of a literature that would be proportioned to an illimitable

continent and to powerful races of men, that would be grown out of American associations and events, that would be abreast with science, philosophy and social thought, that would itself tend to form the very individuals wanted for an ideal America. To exploit his convictions he felt himself "called." It was a call that must be obeyed — a summons no more to be resisted than that which makes the tides flow and the globe revolve.

IV.—General Features of Development.

1. The plan of singing the Epic of Man, formed boldly in 1855, was audaciously adhered to for the thirty-seven years of Whitman's poetic career. All through his life he faced arguments, opposition, scorn, hatred and abuse, yet, with the single exception of the moment in debate with Emerson on Boston Common, he never faltered in his step but moved steadily forward in perfect good nature, never doubting the ultimate triumph of his point of view. There is a partial failure of his plan to be noted with respect to his later poems, a failure which must be ascribed to his prolonged illness since 1873. The dominant note of his first poems is "Dominion strong is the body's." He had intended in his later writings to dominate with the note "Dominion stronger is the mind's." The clue to his purpose is discovered in the preface of 1876:

"It was originally my intention, after chanting in *Leaves of Grass* the songs of the body and of existence, to then compose a further, equally-needed volume, based on those convictions of perpetuity and conservation which, enveloping all precedents, make the unseen soul govern absolutely at last. I meant, while in a sort continuing the theme of my first chants, to shift the slides and exhibit the problem and paradox of the same ardent and fully appointed personality entering the sphere of the resistless gravitation of spiritual law, and with cheerful face estimating death, not at all as the cessation, but as somehow what I feel it must be, the entrance upon by far the greater part of existence, and something that life is at least as much for, as it is for itself."

On his own confession the second theme was never adequately chanted. Consequently his songs have a more ardent physical stress than he intended. His own physical debility probably prevented the accomplishment of his purpose. He said, too, in later life he regretted that he had not made more of the criminal and showed more sympathy with the outcast. His journal contains themes, trial-lines, and notes for poems never completed: Thus he had planned a group of poems which should celebrate "woman-love" as *Calamus* describes adhesiveness or manly love. Like the epics of Chaucer and Spenser, the Song of Existence remains somewhat fragmentary;

but this represents the condition of his own growth. And it is of course true that he aimed not at a perfected literary product but rather to initiate growth in the minds of his readers. Doubtless, as Charlotte Abbey has remarked, "Whitman's unsung songs will be the songs of his successors—singers yet to come who will sing in his spirit and to ends of which he has been prophetic." One of the last journal notes is a suggestion for "a poem (bequeathing to others a charge) what poems are wanted—including a long list culled from the MS. scraps."

2. The poems of every edition of *Leaves of Grass,* except perhaps the annexes, were written on the open road. The book was incarnated as the author journeyed through cities and States. It was made up in every part of America. Each poem is a jotting down of an experience while fresh in consciousness. The *Song of Myself* embodies the poet's abundant and strenuous life in New York. *Drum-Taps* originated on the field of battle, in camp, and in hospitals. The Lincoln poems were written while Whitman was in immediate contact with the persons and events of that tragic death. The *Song of the Exposition, Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood,* and *Song of the Universal* were composed for special public occasions. The last lingering poems are those of a man conscious of approaching death. The very revisions were made, so far as possible, when in con-

tact with real things. Thus when in 1881 the poet went to Boston to give a final touch to his works, he took the proofs to the woods and made a library desk of a fallen log.

3. The editions of 1855, 1856, and 1860 were the explication of Whitman's theory of a democratic literature. They issued at the high tide of the poet's own vigor and, having as their main object stimulation and expansion, they radiate personal force to a degree wholly unprecedented in literature. The impression given is that of the "eternal bodily composite, cumulative, natural character of one's-self." They contained the poems that pleased Emerson. Hardly a poem is objective or descriptive, but each is an utterance of the self as it comes to realization through its own activity and by contact with the object world. Of these editions the *Song of Myself* is *Leaves of Grass* in epitome. The scientific, philosophic, and religious basis of the whole superstructure was laid in this composition. The later poems relating specifically to sex, comradeship, nationality, religion, and death were formed of the surplusage of this *Song of Myself,*—the "waves eddying behind it." Or they are the elaboration in experience of what is announced intellectually in the first poem. If Whitman had written nothing after 1860 his intention to illustrate the modes of a democratic literature would have been accomplished. The edition

of 1855 contained, beside the preface, twelve poems without distinctive titles. Giving the present titles, they were the following: *Song of Myself, Song for Occupations, To Think of Time, The Sleepers, I Sing the Body Electric, Faces, Song of the Answerer* (sec. 1), *Europe, A Boston Ballad, There was a Child Went Forth, Who Learns My Lesson Complete, Great Are the Myths* (not in the 1881 edition). In 1856 the number was increased to thirty-two. The preface was omitted, but much of its contents went to the making of several poems in the body of the work. Titles were given the poems, no one of which, however, was retained in the final volume. In 1860 the number amounted to one hundred and fifty-seven. The names that were finally chosen begin to appear. The important additions were the *Children of Adam* and the *Calamus* poems. The author's meditative habit of mind is revealed in collections of short sayings or "Debris" which formed the germs of future poems.

The war cluster, entitled *Drum-Taps,* published separately in 1865 and merged with the *Leaves* in 1867, was the result of a special emotional experience and is complete within itself. The theoretical is almost wholly absent. The subject was large, grand, full of strife, and calling for love and sympathy, was one for which Whitman's genius especially fitted him. He is easily the chief singer of the Civil

War. The method of this group is generally lyrical, with the note of grief in mastery. A spiritual rather than a material statement of the war is given, its color more than its fact. However, an occasional impressionistic description presents vividly some characteristic scene of the field or hospital. One poem, remarkable for its intensity, *Rise O Days from Your Fathomless Deeps,* calls for the ever needful return to "primal energies and nature's dauntlessness." But here, too, the sob of the mourner is heard, and the mind is prepared for the final word of reconciliation. To this group the Lincoln poems belong. Singularly the war chants controlled the plan of the book thenceforth. They were placed at the center of the *Leaves,* the keystone of an arch supported by the pillars Life and Death. The earlier chants were rewritten in the light of the knowledge the war afforded. In a line found in an early version of *By Blue Ontario's Shore* is this important announcement: "As a wheel turns on its axle, so I find my chants turning finally on the war." "The entire work," he remarked elsewhere, "is finally to be considered as the first characteristic literary result of the war." The war taught what one's self and union meant. It proved comradeship and democracy. It tested death and immortality. He who sang welcome to death with such strange and solemn effect was for years death's intimate and proved his

songs in his own experience. An important fact to be noted of this group of poems is the spontaneity of utterance and the certainty of the poet's technique. The poems of the first experimental edition underwent continual revision in word and line, but the songs of *Drum-Taps,* wrought in intense emotional excitement, could gain nothing by critical review. They bear the immediate impress of the battle-field.

The edition of 1867 is notable for the incorporation into the *Leaves* of the poems of the war and the rearrangement of the groups with reference to an ideal unity. The poems now number two hundred and thirty-six.

The fifth edition, of 1871, maintains the new classification. The poems have come to have no chronological or other mechanical order, but occur in ideal succession, referring to ensemble. The general titles of this edition exhibit the fusion and the ideal grouping: *Inscriptions* (9), *Children of Adam* (16), *Calamus* (39), *Leaves of Grass* (a title for scattered groups of 3, 2, 8, 4, 6, 3, 1 = 27), *The Answerer* (4), *Drum-Taps* (31), *Marches Now the War is Over* (9), *Bath'd in War's Perfume* (7), *Songs of Insurrection* (6), *Songs of Parting* (8), *Ashes of Soldiers* (5), *President Lincoln's Burial Hymn* (4), *Whispers of Heavenly Death* (13), *Seashore Memories* (7), *Now Finale to the Shore* (10). Some

copies of this edition have also as the closing pieces *Passage to India* and *After All Not to Create Only,* two poems which had been issued separately the same year. In the volumes containing these mystic poems that unity of impression in which "Death and the Unknown are as essential and important to Completed Personality as Life and the Known" is being achieved by the poet. Whitman's victory was nearly gained by 1871. The advance in technique and sureness of touch is marked. He is master of his style. After many experiences there came the "divine power to speak words." By this time also some of the ruder expressions and objectionable phrases relating to his purpose of celebrating sex, introduced at first in too strict adherence to his theory of literature, have been modified or eliminated. The artist is controlling the product. To this edition thirty-six new poems were added, (including the *Passage to India* group and *After All Not to Create Only*), making a total of two hundred and seventy-three.

The edition of 1876 is little more than a collection of previous imprints. It was especially prepared for the centennial year, having for an object the exploitation of the advent of Americanism and Republicanism. The important additions are contained in the second volume, entitled *Two Rivulets,* which was partially set up by Whitman's own hand

in a Camden printing-house. In this the author's purpose to sing more specifically songs of spiritual existence definitely appears. The idea of moral law, the "inner light" of the Quakers, the pure conscience, rises over all and irradiates the whole work. The poems number two hundred and ninety-eight.

The seventh and most important edition occurred in 1881, when James R. Osgood, of Boston, undertook the publication. The opportunity was seized by Whitman to make a complete revision of all that he had written, to determine the final sequence and ensemble of the poems, and to add some new pieces to complete the plan. His own letter to Mr. Osgood contains this statement: "The text will be about the same as hitherto, occasional slight revisions, simplifications in punctuation etc., a more satisfactory consecutive order — some new pieces (20 or 30 pages)." Up to this time *Leaves of Grass* had not really been published at all. The previous editions, Whitman said to Osgood, had been but reconnoisances — printings in proof for zealous friends. The revision extended to every word and line. Corrections were generally made in the interest of clearness. Some personal expressions, slang words, and references to sexuality were omitted. He was aiming at unity and a certain impersonality. An interesting account of this edition is

found in the *Boston Globe,* August 24th, 1881, in Whitman's own words:

"It is now, I believe, twenty-six years since I began to work upon the structure; and this edition will complete the design which I had in mind when I began to write. The whole affair is like one of those old architectural edifices, some of which were hundreds of years in building, and the designer of which had the whole idea in mind from the first. His plans are pretty ambitious, and as means or time permits, he adds part after part, perhaps at quite wide intervals. To a casual observer it looks in the course of its construction odd enough. Only after the whole is completed one catches the idea which inspired the designer, in whose mind the relation of each part to the whole had existed all along. That is the way it has been with my book. It has been twenty-six years building. There have been seven different hitches at it. Seven different times have parts of the edifice been constructed—sometimes in Brooklyn, sometimes in Washington, sometimes in Boston, and at other places. The book has been built partially in every part of the United States. And this edition is the completed edifice."

The edition completed a total of three hundred and eighteen poems.

A study of the classification and rearrangement

of the poems through the seven editions discloses the unitary ideas that determined the final grouping. The book as a whole is the bible of democracy — the term is Whitman's own. The content of democracy is two-fold — the idea of the one and the idea of the many. Its problem is to develop supreme individuals on the one hand and on the other to bind these separate sovereign selves into a social union. Socialization, however, follows upon individualization. Make great men, their unification is assured. *Leaves of Grass* has for its chief aim the stimulation of personality. The purpose of the first poems is to arouse, dilate, expand and greaten the reader. Consequently they radiate personal energy — they are proud, strenuous, joyful, optimistic. The function of the second group of poems is to provide for union. They show the identification of each with all, with Nature, and with God. The first stage of union is in sex — union in the natural. A higher, more spiritual identity is found in comradeship or union in the spiritual human. Other forms of union appear in the songs of occupations and in the chants of nature. The war was a war for union; the *Drum-Taps* inculcate, therefore, identity in nationality. The songs of death and parting declare the fusion of soul and body in a cosmic order. As Pride was the keyword of the first group, Love becomes the sign of the second series.

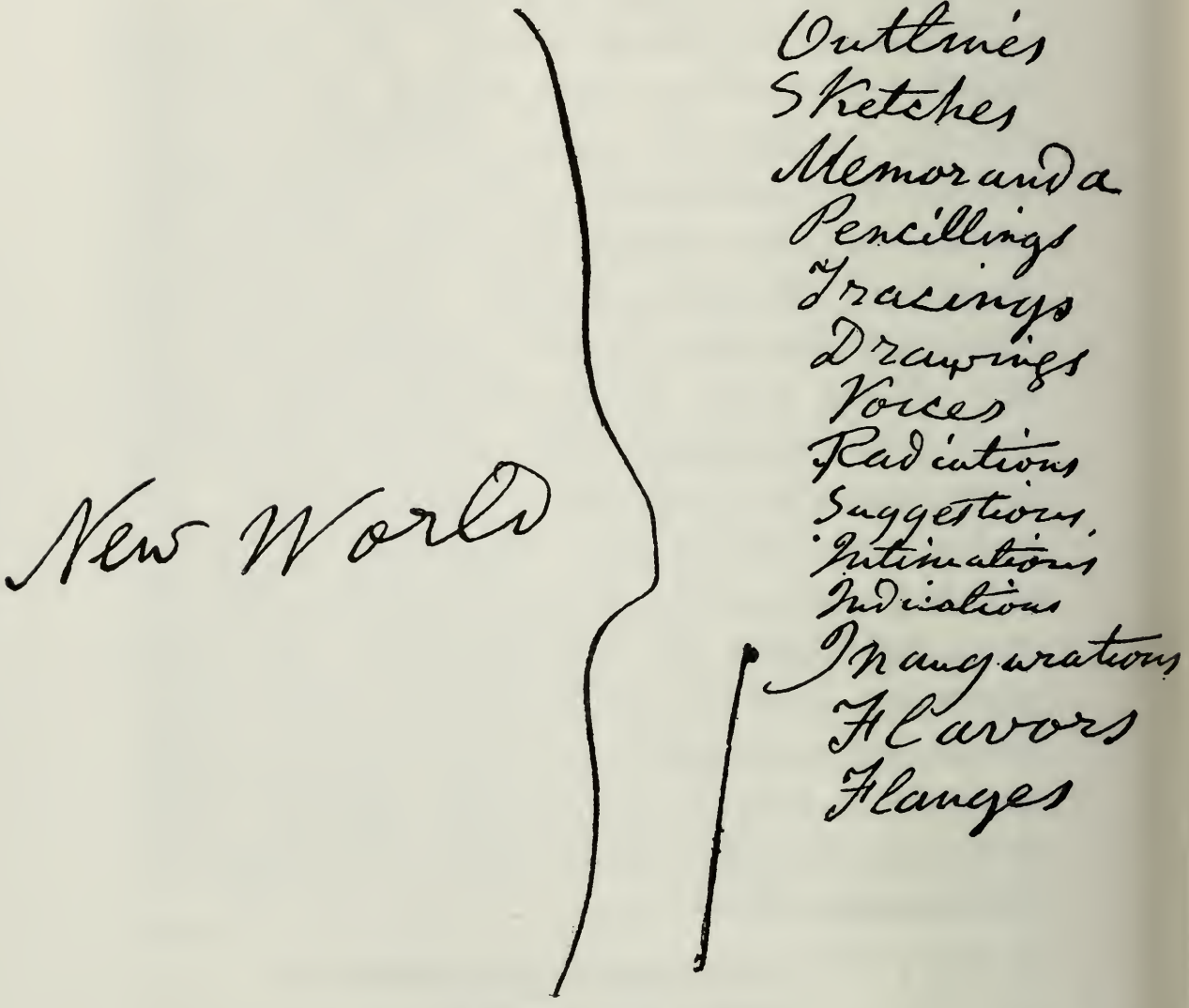
To sing the Great Idea, the transcendental Union — that, thought Whitman, must be the mission of poets. He himself was an absolute monist.

The poems of the annexes are like the eddies behind a great ship. They number one hundred and six, bringing the total composition to four hundred and twenty-four. Some of them display astonishing genius and power; others evidence only the play of old agents, creatures of use and wont; others manifest the physical weakness of an old man. There is an Indian summer pause about them, a holding of the breath. The old poet seems to be passing over into the unknown region. Just on the borderland he turns, raises high the hand in sign that men are to remain in sight of him forever, and shouts the final farewell. The vision grows dim, the voice ceases, the book quietly closes. The translation has been so peaceful that the reader waits for a renewal of the song. We cry confidently, as the soldiers used to do in the hospitals — "Come again, Walt."

V.—Method of Composition

As Whitman was a practical printer, he was very careful as to punctuation, spelling, and arrangement of type. I do not remember to have found a single typographical error in any of the editions. In punctuation he aimed at simplicity. After 1855 he dropped

wherever possible the connectives "and" and "or." In 1867 past participle endings were written as



(A STUDY FOR A TITLE)

"'d." After 1860 he indicated the days and months in the Quaker manner: "First-day," "Twelfth-month," etc. His titles were selected with the greatest care. The poems of 1855 were published

without distinctive titles. For the names employed in 1856 and for many of those of 1860 new ones were substituted in later editions. An instance of his care in devising names is furnished by an outline study for a title (see page 122) written down apparently when he was considering the publication of *Specimen Days*.

Upon another scrap of paper he had written "Moments and Days. Moments and Days of a Life in the 19th Century in the New World. Minutes and Days {from / of} a Life in the 19th Century in the New World. ? Out of My Life." Upon another scrap: "Far and Near at 59. From a Life in the 19th Century in the New World. A Life-Mosaic. Native Moments. Flanges of a Life in the 19th Century in the New World." Probably every title suggested was scrutinized with the utmost patience. In 1867 many of the ruder expressions and references to sexuality were omitted to satisfy "good taste." Changes in word arrangement were frequently made to perfect a rhythm. The first line of the initial Sea-Drift poem "Out of the rock'd cradle" was improved to "Out of the cradle endlessly rocking." Occasionally a change was made in the interest of fact. In the edition of 1855 and 1856 a line referring to the whale read: "Where the she whale swims with her calves." In 1860 this appears as "Where the she whale swims with her calf." Late in the

year 1856 he had talked with an old whaleman, and one finds in his note-book this record of the conversation: "The cow has but one calf at a birth. She will sometimes when alarmed enclose it as with her fins and dive down into the deep sea — (just like a mother protects her child)".

His journals give evidence in particular of the patient study accorded to words and phrases. In the line "By the bivouac's fitful flame," he wrote "fires" at the first trial, then "light," and finally "flame." For certain phrases in *As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life,* he sketched the following outline: "Sea windrows. Ocean windrows. Beach. Beach Windrows. Windrows with sand and sea-hay. Windrows sand and scales and beach hay. Sands and drifts. Windrows and beach hay. Underfoot. Walking the Beach. Drift underfoot. Underfoot Drift. Wash. Drift at your feet." Other notes reveal the origin of given lines and poems. In *A Song for Occupations* there are two lines which relate to iron manufacture:

> "Iron-works, forge-fires in the mountains or by river-banks, men around feeling the melt with huge crowbars, lumps of ore, the due combining of ore, limestone, coal,
>
> The blast-furnace and the puddling-furnace, the loup-lump at the bottom of the melt at last, the rolling-mill, the stumpy bars of pig-iron, the strong clean-shaped T-rail for railroads."

The note that tells the story of his preliminary investigations for the facts of these lines reads thus: "Iron Works. There is a forge in the Adirondack Mountains — the 'Adirondack forge' — To get to it you land at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and go back forty miles. A forge would be a large rude building with from one to a dozen or more charcoal fires — on which the ore is thrown, and melted — the iron runs down and settles at the bottom, like a bushel-basket shaped lump — a 'loup' or 'loop,' as they call it. The men are around these fires with huge crowbars — they have to tell the state of the melting by the 'feel' of the ore and iron with these crowbars. The forge-fires in the mountains and the men around, feeling the melt with huge crowbars." The last sentence is apparently a trial line embodying the main facts of the note. The germ idea of *Night on the Prairies* is found in this jotting: "Idea of a Poem. Day and Night. Namely, celebrate the beauty of Day with all its splendor, the sun — life — action — love — strength. Then Night with its beauty (rather leaning to the celebration of the superiority of the Night)." One of the best examples of Whitman's method of work is furnished by *The Song of the Broad-Axe.* The poem was first published in 1856. Among the papers left at his death is a sheet of foolscap with notes for this poem written in pencil late in the year 1855:

"BROADAXE — First as coming in the rough ore out of the earth — Then as being smelted and made into usable shape for working,— then into some of the earlier weapons of the axe kind — battleaxe — headsman's axe — carpenter's broadaxe — (process of making, tempering and finishing the axe,) inquire fully.

USES OF THE BROADAXE

In cutting away masts when the ship is on her beam-ends.

In hewing the great timbers for the old fashioned houses and barns.

Passage describing the putting up of a good styled log cabin in the western woods—the whole process— joining the logs — the company — the fun — the axe.

The sylvan woodman or woodboy.

The cutting down of an unusually large and majestic tree — live oak or other — for some kelson to a frigate or first-class steamship. — (what wood is the kelson generally?)

Procession of portraits of the different users of the axe — the raftsman, the lumberman, the antique warrior, the headsman, the butcher, the framer of houses, the squatter of the west — the pioneer.

Founding of cities. Make it the American emblem preferent to the eagle.

In ship building. In cutting a passage through the ice.

The butcher in his slaughter house.

FULL PICTURE. The antique warrior always with his great axe — the brawny swinging arm — the clatter and crash on the helmeted head — the death howl and the quick tumbling body and rush of friend and foe thither — the summons to surrender — the battering of castle-gates and city-gates.

Building wharves and piers.

Picture full of the pioneer.

The Roman lictors preceding the consuls.

The sacrificial priest, Grecian, Roman and Jewish.

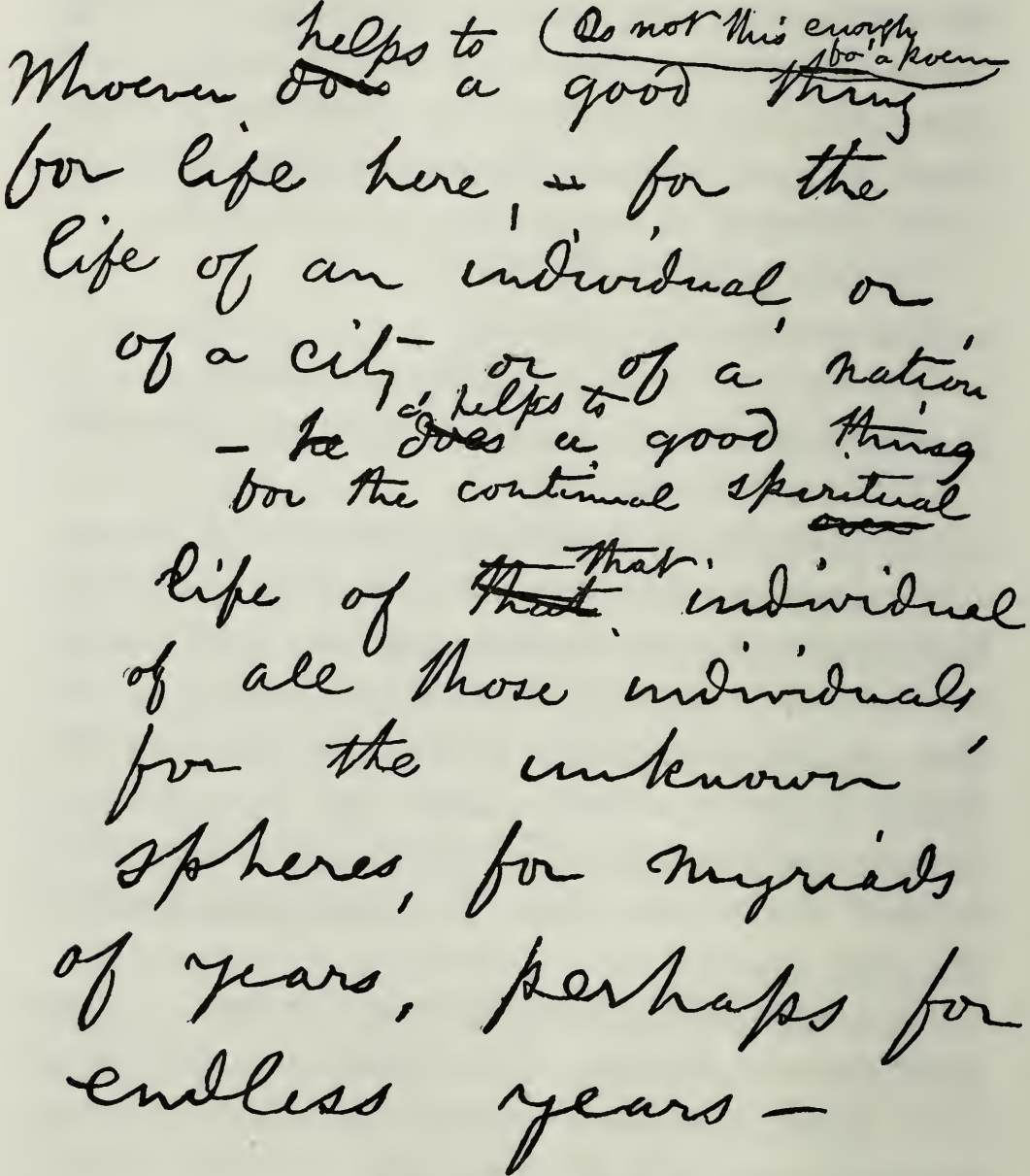
What in Scandinavia?

All through the framing of a house — all through — the hewing of timbers — the knocking of beams in their places — laying them regular. The framers wielding the axe — their attitudes standing, bending — astride the beams driving in pins — as the frame is being raised — they on the posts or braces — holding on — their limbs — the [one arm] hooked around the plate, the other arm wielding the axe.

Episodic in the cutting down of the tree — about what the wood is for — for a saloon, for a ceiling, or floor, for a coffin, for a workbox, a sailor's chest, a musical instrument, for firewood — for rich casings or frames.

In a terrible fire the use of the axe to cut down connecting woodwork to stop the fire — the excite-

ment — the firemen — the glare — the hoarse shouts — the flames — the red faces and dense shadows."


Whoever helps to (Do not this enough for a poem
a good thing
for life here, — for the
life of an individual, or
of a city — or of a nation
— he helps to
does a good thing
for the continual spiritual
life of that individual
of all those individuals
for the unknown
spheres, for myriads
of years, perhaps for
endless years —

(A MANUSCRIPT SCRAP)

Here it is evident, as Dr. Bucke has pointed out, the idea of the poem came to him as a whole and in-

stantaneously. He took the piece of paper and jotted down an outline which would serve to call up the image again to his mind. By the aid of the memorandum of the initial inspiration he wrote later the poem as he first conceived it. Words and phrases, the names of things and processes, had to be thought out and hunted up. In the outline he indicates also certain matters that he must investigate. His papers show that this was his usual method of composition. He made his notes on scraps of paper, old envelopes, and in rudely constructed note-books. In composing he worked slowly and with much reflection and brooding. Many of the manuscripts of the first poems are mazes of pencilled corrections. After writing, the poem was commonly printed on proof-sheets at a private press and put away for revision.

OLD AGE'S SHIP & CRAFTY DEATH'S.

From east and west across the horizon's edge,
Two mighty masterful vessels sailers steal upon us:
But we 'll make race a-time upon the seas — a battle-contest yet! bear lively there!
(Our joys of strife and derring-do to the last!)
Put on the old ship all her power to-day!
extra Crowd top-gallant & and royal studding-sails!
Out challenge and defiance — flags and flaunting pennants added,
As we take to the open — take to the deepest, freest waters.

WALT WHITMAN.

(A CAMDEN "PROOF")

Even after incorporation in the general volume the poem suffered constant handling and reshaping, as the Variorum Readings prepared for this edition attest. As an example of simple improvement the original pencilled draft of *Grand is the Seen,* dated November 14th, 1890, may be compared with the poem as printed in *Good-Bye My Fancy:*

I

"Grand is the seen, the light — grand are the sky and stars,
Grand is the earth, and grand are time and space,
And grand their laws, so multiform, so evolutionary, puzzling, lasting;
Then grander is one's unseen soul, endowing, comprehending those —
Lighting the light, the sky and stars, sailing the sea, delving the earth,
More multiform — more puzzling than they,
More evolutionary vast and lasting."

II

"Grand is the seen, the light, to me — grand are the sky and stars,
Grand is the earth, and grand are lasting time and space,
And grand their laws, so multiform, puzzling, evolutionary;
But grander far the unseen soul of me, comprehending, endowing all those,
Lighting the light, the sky and stars, delving the earth, sailing the sea,

(What were all these, indeed, without thee, unseen soul? of what amount without thee?)
More evolutionary, vast, puzzling, O my soul!
More multiform far — more lasting than they."

Here the changes are slight but telling.

A more elaborate series of changes was necessary for the perfecting of the prefatory poem beginning "Come, said my Soul," first published in 1876. Seven copies of this poem have been transcribed and compared by William Sloane Kennedy and printed in the *Conservator* for June, 1896. The first piece is the original rough draft containing the germ idea, the others are the studies arranged in the order of their production:

1

"Come, said the Soul,
Such verses of the Body having written [here?]
That should we [I] after death invisibly return
We first here and now and first and last and all and each
Endorsing to the utmost
Endorsing all and each and to the last, as first here I now
Signing for Soul and Body, write my name."

(The portions in brackets are Whitman's, and are written as alternatives or additions, over the line.)

2 (dated March 25, '75)

"Go, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body write, (for we are one,)
Such chants of it, the seed perennial scattering,

That should I, after death, invisibly return,
Or years, or ages, ages hence in other spheres,
Or to some group of mates these songs resuming,
Ever with pleas'd smile I may recall them,
Ever with sun and soil and rain they sing."

3

"Go, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body write, (for we are one,)
Such chants of both in seed perennial scattering,
That should I after death invisibly return,
Or long, long hence in other spheres,
Or to some group of mates these songs resuming,
Ever, with pleas'd smile, I may recall them,
Ever in sun and soil and rain they 'll sing."

(At the foot of this piece are four separate studies for line 3.)

4 (Endorsed: "Approved Sep. 15, '75").

"Come, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body let us write, (for we are one,)
Such chants of both sign'd by my Name, in seed perennial scattering,
That should I after death invisibly return,
Or to some group of mates the lines resuming,
Ever, with pleased smile, I may repeat them — ever with murmuring rain,
Ever with tallying earth, air, daylight, sing,
As sign for Soul and Body, write our name."

(Erasure at beginning of line 5: "I 'll find them growing, fruiting." Line 3 first read: "sign'd by the Name, for both.")

5

"Come, said my Soul,
Such verses for the Body let us sing, (for we are finally One,)
That should I after Death invisibly return,
Or long, long hence, in other spheres,
Or to some group of mates the chants resuming,
Ever with pleased smile I may repeat them,
(Tallying Earth's soil, waves, trees, winds, murmuring rain,)
Avowing to the last — as, first, I here and now,
Signing for Soul and Body, write my name,
[A scrawled] *W. W.*"

("Subtly" before "finally" of line two is erased, and for line seven this pencil study appears at foot of the paper: "Tallying the earth and trees, the winds, the murmuring rain.")

6

"Come, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body let us write, (for we are one,)
That should I after death invisibly return,
(Or long, long hence, in other spheres,
There to some group of mates the chants resuming,
Tallying Earth's soil, winds, waves, trees, murmuring rains,)
Ever with pleased smile I may repeat them,
Ever the songs continuing, owning—As, first, I here and now,
Signing for Soul and Body, set my name,
[A scrawled] *W. W.*"

(Erasure in line 2, before "one" of "subtly, finally." With three or four slight changes, which are helps to the melody and swing of the verse, this number 6 is identical with the final printed form.")

7

"Come, said my Soul,
Such verses for my Body let us write, (for we are one,)

That should I after death invisibly return,
Or, long, long hence, in other spheres,
There to some group of mates the chants resuming,
(Tallying Earth's soil, trees, winds, tumultuous waves,)
Ever with pleas'd smile I may keep on,
Ever and ever yet the verses owning — as, first, I here and now,
Signing for Soul and Body, set to them my name,
[Autograph signature] Walt Whitman."

From these evidences it would appear that the composition of lines and poems may be best described and understood as "growth" — vital growth rather than mechanical or merely critical construction.

flame.

(Dec 17. 1887.)

gne records told,
struggle, year — &c.
&c.

Wand
&c. glory
Wt hero, ~~home~~
We'd served.
Sch-fringed shore
L. Old Poet,
Whitman

As the Greek's signal flame.

(For Whittier's 80th birth-day, December 17. 1887.)

As the Greeks' signal flame, by antique records told,
(Tally of many a hard-strain'd battle, struggle, year — &c.
~~centuries ago~~ triumphant only at the last,)
~~Welcomed some special~~ for like ~~on~~ x a flame and glory
Rose from the hill-top
Welcoming in fame some special veteran, patriot, hero, ~~home~~
With rosy tinge reddening the land he'd served,
So I aloft from Manhattan's ship-fringed shore,
Lift high a kindled brand for thee, Old Poët,

Walt Whitman

Bibliography of Walt Whitman

Compiled by Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D.

A. The Writings of Walt Whitman

Bibliography of Walt Whitman

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A. THE WRITINGS OF WALT WHITMAN

1855

THE first edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1855. A thin quarto or royal octavo, pp. i–xii, 13–95. Bound in leather ornamented with flowers, the title LEAVES OF GRASS in gilt across the face. Title-page: LEAVES / OF / GRASS / Brooklyn, New York/1855. Copyright given in 1855 to Walter Whitman. Frontispiece, facing title-page: a steel engraving from photograph of author at age of 36. No name of author is given except in the copyright certificate and in a line in the body of the work on page 29: "Walt Whitman, an American, one of the roughs, a kosmos." Eight hundred copies printed.

The volume contains a prose preface and twelve poems without titles. Using the titles given in 1856 and their present names these are:

1. Preface.

2. Poem of Walt Whitman, an American (Song of Myself).

3. Poem of the Daily Work of the Workmen and Workwomen of These States (A Song for Occupations).

4. Burial Poem (To Think of Time).

5. Night Poem (The Sleepers).

6. Poem of the Body (I Sing the Body Electric).

7. Poem of Faces (Faces).

8. Poem of the Poet (Song of the Answerer, § 1).

9. Poem of the Dead Young Men of Europe. The 72d and 73d Years of These States (Europe).

10. Poem of Apparitions in Boston, the 78th Year of These States (A Boston Ballad).

11. Poem of the Child That Went Forth, and Always Goes Forth, Forever and Forever (There was a Child Went Forth).

12. Lesson Poem (Who Learns My Lesson Complete).

13. Poem of a Few Greatnesses (called later Great Are the Myths).

Notes: The large page of this volume, giving scope to the long lines, and the large clear type, make this a very attractive edition. It is valued very highly by collectors.

The prose preface is in content but another poem, and in later editions it was broken up to

2. Poem of Walt Whitman, an American (Song of Myself).

3. Poem of the Daily Work of the Workmen and Workwomen of These States (A Song for Occupations).

4. Burial Poem (To Think of Time).

5. Night Poem (The Sleepers).

6. Poem of the Body (I Sing the Body Electric).

7. Poem of Faces (Faces).

8. Poem of the Past (Song of the Answerer, § 1).

Whitman's House, Mickle Street, Camden, N. J.

From a photograph by J. H. Johnston, M.D., Bolton, England

9. Poem of the Present, Mind of Europe. The 72d and 73d Years of These States (Europe).

10. Poem of Apparitions in Boston, the 78th Year of These States (A Boston Ballad).

11. Poem of the Child That Went Forth, and Always Goes Forth, Forever and Forever (There was a Child Went Forth).

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furnish material for *By Blue Ontario's Shore* (sec. 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13), *To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire,* and *Song of Prudence,* the rest being reprinted in *Specimen Days* and *Collect* (1881) as the preface of the 1855 edition. W. M. Rossetti republished this preface nearly entire in his edition of *Selections* in 1868. It was published separately in 1881 by Trubner & Co., London. A translation in French was published in *Le Magazine International,* No. 5, 1896. An exact reprint of the original preface was made for the volume of *Selections* published by Small, Maynard & Co. in 1898.

Great Are the Myths does not appear in the later editions.

All of the poems of this edition underwent continual revision till 1881.

A peculiarity of this edition is the punctuation, dashes and dots being used freely to indicate pauses.

1856

The second edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1856. Sixteen mo., pp., i–iv, 5–385. Bound with cloth. On back in gilt the title: LEAVES OF GRASS, the name Walt Whitman, and a quotation from Emerson's letter, "I greet You at the Beginning of A Great Career"—signed, "R. W. Emerson." Figures of leaves adorn the cover. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS,

Brooklyn, New York/1856. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1856. Frontispiece, the steel engraving from the first edition. An index of titles is given and the poems are numbered. There are twenty new poems. An Appendix, called "Leaves-Droppings," contains (a) A letter from Emerson to Whitman, July 21, 1855. (b) A letter from Whitman to Emerson, August, 1856. (c) Opinions from the American and English press. (d) Advertisement. The new poems have the following titles:

14. Poem of Women (Unfolded Out of the Folds).

15. Poem of Salutation (Salut au Monde).

16. Broad-Axe Poem (Song of the Broad-Axe).

17. Poem of Many in One (By Blue Ontario's Shore).

18. Poem of Wonder at the Resurrection of the Wheat (This Compost).

19. Poem of You, Whoever You Are (To You, vol. I, page 284).

20. Sun-Down Poem (Crossing Brooklyn Ferry).

21. Poem of the Road (Song of the Open Road).

22. Poem of Procreation (A Woman Waits for Me).

23. Clef Poem (On the Beach at Night Alone).

24. Poem of the Heart of the Son of Manhattan Island (Excelsior).

25. Poem of the Last Explanation of Prudence (Song of Prudence).

26. Poem of the Singers, and of the Words of Poems (Song of the Answerer, § 2).

27. Faith Poem (Assurances).

28. Liberty Poem for Asia, Africa, Europe, America, Australia, Cuba, and the Archipelagoes of the Sea (To a Foiled European Revolutionaire).

29. Poem of Remembrances for a Girl or a Boy of These States (not in last editions).

30. Poem of Perfect Miracles (Miracles).

31. Bunch Poem (Spontaneous Me).

32. Poem of the Propositions of Nakedness (Respondez, not in last editions).

33. Poem of the Sayers of the Words of the Earth (Song of the Rolling Earth).

Notes: The size of the publication is reduced from the large octavo to a sixteen mo. The printing and punctuation are conventional.

The foundation of future editions is firmly laid in this volume. The purpose of the author is fixed, the added poems coming as a sort of challenge to adverse criticism. The poems of 1855 have undergone revision, but the alteration consists chiefly in the omission of connectives, such as "and," "or," etc.

The preface of 1855 is omitted, but much of its contents, in some lines the very words and sentences,

appears in *Poem of Many in One, Poem of the Last Explanation of Prudence* and *Liberty Poem.*

This edition is distinguished by the addition to the separate poems of titles, no one of which, however, was retained for the final edition.

This volume was published by Fowler & Wells, N. Y., though their names do not appear on the title-page. On account of criticism this firm abandoned the sale. But few copies were sold.

1860–'61

Third edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1860–'61. A twelve mo., pp. i–iv, 5–456. Bound in imitation leather. LEAVES OF GRASS stamped on face and back (in gilt), the name Walt Whitman, and various emblems—a sunrise at sea, a globe in space, and a butterfly poised upon a hand. Title-page: LEAVES/ OF/GRASS/Boston/Thayer and Eldridge/Year 85 of The States/1860–'61. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1860. Frontispiece, a steel engraving of Whitman at the age of forty, reproduced from a painting by Charles Hine in 1859. The emblems mentioned above occur throughout the book. There are 124 new poems in addition to those already named:

34. Proto-Leaf (Starting from Paumanok).

35. Chants Democratic: Apostroph (not in later editions).

36. Chants Democratic, no. 4 (Our Old Feuillage).

37. Chants Democratic, no. 7 (With Antecedents).
38. " " " 8 (Song at Sunset).
39. " " " 9 (Thoughts, sec. 1, Vol. II, page 275).
40. Chants Democratic, no. 10 (To a Historian).
41. " " " 11 (Thoughts, sec. 2, Vol. II, page 275).
42. Chants Democratic, no. 12 (Vocalism, sec. 1).
43. " " " 13 (Laws for Creation).
44. " " " 14 (Poets to Come).
45. " " " 16 (Mediums).
46. " " " 17 (On Journeys through The States).
47. Chants Democratic, no. 18 (Me Imperturbe).
48. " " " 19 (I was Looking a Long While).
49. Chants Democratic, no. 20 (I Hear America Singing).
50. Chants Democratic, no. 21 (As I Walk These Broad Majestic Days).
51. Leaves of Grass, no. 1 (As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life).
52. Leaves of Grass, no. 10 (Myself and Mine).
53. " " " 13 (You Felons on Trial in Courts).
54. Leaves of Grass, no. 15 (Night on the Prairies).
55. " " " 16 (The World Below the Brine).

56. Leaves of Grass, no. 17 (I Sit and Look Out).
57. " " " 18 (All is Truth).
58. " " " 19 (Germs).
59. " " " 20 ("So far and so far"—not in later editions).
60. Leaves of Grass, no. 21 (Vocalism, sec. 2).
61. " " " 22 (What am I After All).
62. Leaves of Grass, no. 23 (Locations and Times).
63. " " " 24 ("Now lift me close"—not in last editions).
64. Poem of Joys (A Song of Joys).
65. A Word Out of the Sea (Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking).
66. Thought (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 262).
67. Enfans d'Adam, no. 1 (To the Garden the World).
68. Enfans d'Adam, no. 2 (From Pent-up Aching Rivers).
69. Enfans d'Adam, no. 6 (One Hour to Madness and Joy).
70. Enfans d'Adam, no. 7 (We Two, How Long We were Fool'd).
71. Enfans d'Adam, no. 8 (Native Moments).
72. " " " 9 (Once I Pass'd through a Populous City).
73. Enfans d'Adam, no. 10 (Facing West from California's Shores).

74. Enfans d'Adam, no. 11 ("In the new garden" —not in last editions).

75. Enfans d'Adam, no. 12 (Ages and Ages Returning at Intervals).

76. Enfans d'Adam, no. 13 (O Hymen—O Hymene).

77. Enfans d'Adam, no. 14 (I am He that Aches with Love).

78. Enfans d'Adam, no. 15 (As Adam Early in the Morning).

79. Calamus, no. 1 (In Paths Untrodden).

80. " " 2 (Scented Herbage of My Breast).

81. Calamus, no. 3 (Whoever You are).

82. " " 4 (These I Singing in Spring).

83. " " 5 (You, O Democracy).

84. " " 6 (Not Heaving from my Ribb'd Breast Only).

85. Calamus, no. 7 (The Terrible Doubt of Appearances).

86. Calamus, no. 8 ("Long I thought that knowledge alone would suffice me"—not in last editions).

87. Calamus, no. 9 ("Hours continuing long sore and heavy hearted"—not in last editions).

88. Calamus, no. 10 (Recorders Ages Hence).

89. " " 11 (When I Heard at the Close of the Day).

90. Calamus, no. 12 (Are You the New Person Drawn toward Me).

91. Calamus, no. 13 (Roots and Leaves Themselves Alone).

92. Calamus, no. 14 (Not Heat Flames Up).

93. " " 15 (Trickle Drops).

94. " " 16 ("Who is now reading this" —not in last editions).

95. Calamus, no. 17 (Of Him I Love Day and Night).

96. Calamus, no. 18 (City of Orgies).

97. " " 19 (Behold this Swarthy Face).

98. " " 20 (I Saw in Louisiana).

99. " " 21 (That Music Always Round Me).

100. Calamus, no. 22 (To a Stranger).

101. " " 23 (This Moment Yearning and Thoughtful).

102. Calamus, no. 24 (I Hear It was Charged against Me).

103. Calamus, no. 25 (The Prairie Grass Dividing).

104. Calamus no. 26 (We Two Boys together Clinging).

105. Calamus, no. 27 (O Living Always, Always Dying).

106. Calamus, no. 28 (When I Peruse the Conquer'd Fame).

107. Calamus, no. 29 (A Glimpse).
108. " " 30 (A Promise to California).
109. " " 31 (What Place is Besieged? and What Ship Puzzled at Sea?).
110. Calamus, no. 32 (What Think You I Take My Pen in Hand).
111. Calamus, no. 33 (No Labor-Saving Machine).
112. " " 34 (I Dream'd in a Dream).
113. " " 35 (To the East and to the West).
114. Calamus, no. 36 (Earth My Likeness).
115. " " 37 (A Leaf for Hand in Hand).
116. " " 38 (Fast-Anchor'd Eternal O Love).
117. Calamus, no. 39 (Sometimes with One I Love).
118. Calamus, no. 40 (That Shadow My Likeness).
119. " " 41 (Among the Multitude).
120. " " 42 (To a Western Boy).
121. " " 43 (O You whom I Often and Silently Come).
122. Calamus, no. 44 (Here the Frailest Leaves of Me).
123. Calamus, no. 45 (Full of Life now).
124. Longings for Home (O Magnet-South).
125. To Him That was Crucified.
126. To One Shortly to Die.
127. To a Common Prostitute.

128. To Rich Givers.
129. To a Pupil.
130. To The States.
131. To a Cantatrice (To a Certain Cantatrice).
132. Walt Whitman's Caution (To The States).
133. To a President.
134. To Other Lands (To Foreign Lands).
135. To Old Age.
136. To You — not in last editions.
137. To You.
138. Mannahatta.
139. France.
140. Thoughts, no. 1 ("Of the visages of things" — not in last editions).
141. Thoughts, no. 2 (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 32).
142. " " 3 (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 162).
143. " " 4 (Thoughts, Vol. II, pages 38, 37).
144. Thoughts, no. 5 (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 232).
145. " " 6 ("Of what I write for myself" — not in last editions).
146. Thoughts, no. 7 (Thoughts, Vol. II, page 37).
147. Unnamed Lands.
148. Kosmos.
149. A Hand Mirror.
150. Beginners.
151. Tests.
152. Savantism.

153. Perfections.

154. Says (eight in number, used in various ways in last editions).

155. Debris (consisting of 16 thoughts, used in various ways in last editions).

156. To My Soul (As Nearing Departure and As the Time Draws Nigh).

157. So Long.

Notes: The old poems are revised and rewritten, the changes in this edition being often fundamental. One of the peculiar changes is in the names of days and months, the Quaker usage being adopted for the pagan: thus the Fourth of July reads the Fourth of Seventh Month.

New titles for poems appear, some of which become permanent. *Chants Democratic, Leaves of Grass* and *Messenger Leaves* are employed as group titles. The important additions are *Enfans d'Adam* (Children of Adam) and *Calamus*. Series of short sayings called Thoughts, Says and Debris are contained.

There is an appearance of orderliness and completeness about the volume, the first poem being called *Proto-Leaf* and the last *So Long* (the workman's call at departure).

This was a really handsome edition. Thayer & Eldridge failed at the opening of the war and the book was again out of print. The plates and

cover dies came into the hands of R. Worthington, N. Y., who surreptitiously used them. The Thayer & Eldridge publication may be detected by the words on the back of the title-page: "Electrotyped at the Boston Stereotype Foundry. Printed by George C. Rand & Avery." After the poet's death the plates and copies were purchased by the estate.

1865

Drum-Taps and *Sequel to Drum-Taps* (including the Lincoln poems), 1865. In pamphlet form, pp. i–iv, 5–72; 1–24. Title-pages: WALT WHITMAN'S / DRUM-TAPS/NEW YORK/ 1865/ / SEQUEL TO DRUM-TAPS/ (since the preceding came from the press)/WHEN LILACS LAST IN THE /DOOR YARD BLOOM'D/AND OTHER PIECES/ Washington/1865–6.

Drum-Taps

158. Drum-Taps.
159. Shut not Your Doors to Me Proud Libraries.
160. Cavalry Crossing a Ford.
161. Song of the Banner at Day-Break.
162. By the Bivouac's Fitful Flame.
163. 1861.
164. From Paumanok Starting I Fly like a Bird.
165. Beginning My Studies.
166. The Centenarian's Story.
167. Pioneers! O Pioneers!

168. Quicksand Years that Whirl Me I Know not Whither.
169. The Dresser.
170. When I Heard the Learn'd Astronomer.
171. Rise O Days from Your Fathomless Deeps.
172. A Child's Amaze.
173. Beat! Beat! Drums!
174. Come Up from the Fields Father.
175. City of Ships.
176. Mother and Babe.
177. Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night.
178. Bathed in War's Perfume.
179. A March in the Ranks Hard-Prest, and the Road Unknown.
180. Long, Too Long, O Land.
181. A Sight in Camp in the Day-Break Grey and Dim.
182. A Farm Picture.
183. Give Me the Splendid Silent Sun.
184. Over the Carnage Rose Prophetic a Voice.
185. Did You Ask Dulcet Rhymes from Me?
186. Year of Meteors.
187. The Torch.
188. Year of the Unperform'd.
189. Year that Trembled and Reel'd Beneath Me.
190. The Veteran's Vision.
191. O Tan-Faced Prairie-Boy.
192. Camps of Green.

193. As Toilsome I Wander'd Virginia's Woods.
194. Hymn of Dead Soldiers.
195. The Ship.
196. A Broadway Pageant.
197. Flag of Stars, Thick-Sprinkled Bunting.
198. Old Ireland.
199. Look Down Fair Moon.
200. Out of the Rolling Ocean the Crowd.
201. World Take Good Notice.
202. I Saw Old General at Bay.
203. Others may Praise What They Like.
204. Solid, Ironical, Rolling Orb.
205. Hush'd be the Camps To-day.
206. Weave in, Weave in, My Hardy Soul.
207. Turn, O Libertad.
208. Bivouac on a Mountain Side.
209. Pensive on Her Dead Gazing, I Heard the Mother of All.
210. Not Youth Pertains to Me.

Sequel to Drum-Taps

211. When Lilacs Last in the Door-Yard Bloom'd.
212. Race of Veterans.
213. O Captain! My Captain!
214. Spirit whose Work is Done.
215. Chanting the Square Deific.
216. I Heard You, Solemn-Sweet Pipes of the Organ.

217. Not My Enemies Ever Invade Me.

218. O Me! O Life!

219. Ah Poverties, Wincings, and Sulky Retreats.

220. As I Lay with My Head in Your Lap, Camerado.

221. This Day, O Soul.

222. In Clouds Descending, in Midnight Sleep.

223. An Army on the March.

224. Dirge for Two Veterans.

225. How Solemn as One by One.

226. Lo! Victress on the Peaks.

227. Reconciliation.

228. To the Leaven'd Soil They Trod.

Notes: These two series formed the first and second annexes of the fourth edition (1867) of *Leaves of Grass*. In 1871 the poems were incorporated in the body of the work, the greater number appearing under the title *Drum-Taps,* the rest being distributed under other general titles according to subject. The poems of *Drum-Taps* were written at the time of the war, under great emotional stress, and were not subsequently revised to any considerable extent.

1867

Fourth edition of *Leaves of Grass* with three annexes, 1867. Twelve mo., pp.i–iv, 5–338; i–iv, 5–72; 1–24; 1–36 = 470. Bound in cloth and leather. On back in gilt LEAVES OF GRASS / Ed'n 1867.

Title-pages: LEAVES / OF/GRASS / NEW YORK / 1867 / / WALT WHITMAN'S / DRUM-TAPS / NEW YORK / 1865/ /SEQUEL TO DRUM-TAPS / (since the preceding came from the press)/WHEN LILACS LAST IN THE / DOOR YARD BLOOM'D / AND OTHER PIECES / Washington / 1865–6// SONGS/ BEFORE PARTING. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1866. There is no portrait.

The new poems, exclusive of *Drum-Taps* and *Sequel to Drum-Taps* (which form annexes to this edition) number eight.

(158–228. Drum-Taps etc.)

229. Inscription (One's-Self I Sing).

230. The Runner.

231. Tears! Tears! Tears!

232. Aboard at a Ship's Helm.

233. When I Read the Book.

234. The City Dead-House.

235. Leaflets (What General).

236. Not the Pilot.

Notes: This edition groups the poems in a new arrangement, the order tending toward the one eventually settled upon. The titles are becoming permanent.

A complete revision has again taken place, many lines and passages being dropped. Certain rough terms and many references to sexuality disappear. Lines relating to the war are inserted in various

poems. One of the minor changes is the writing of the past participle as 'd.

The paragraphs and sections are numbered.

1870–'71

Democratic Vistas, 1871. Pamphlet form, pp. 1–84. Title-page: Memoranda / DEMOCRATIC / VISTAS/Washington, D.C./1871. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1870.

Notes: *Democratic Vistas* appears in the Complete Works substantially as here. In the last edition what is now the first paragraph was added, together with a few foot-notes.

1871

Passage to India, 1871. Pamphlet form, pp. 1–120. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1870. Title-page: LEAVES OF GRASS/PASSAGE/TO/INDIA/ Washington, D.C./1871; with verses entitled, in 1892 edition, *Gliding O'er All.*

Seventy-three poems are contained in this pamphlet, but only twenty-three are new; these are:

237. Gliding O'er All.
238. Passage to India.
239. Proud Music of the Storm.
240. This Blood was Once the Man.
241. Whispers of Heavenly Death.
242. Darest Thou Now O Soul.

243. A Noiseless Patient Spider.
244. The Last Invocation.
245. As I Watch'd the Ploughman Ploughing.
246. Pensive and Faltering.
247. On the Beach at Night Alone.
248. The Return of the Heroes.
249. The Singer in the Prison.
250. Warble for Lilac-Time.
251. Sparkles From the Wheel.
252. Brother of All with Generous Hand.
253. Gods.
254. Now Finale to the Shore.
255. As They Draw to a Close.
256. The Untold Want.
257. Portals.
258. These Carols.
259. Joy, Shipmate, Joy.

Notes: In some copies of the 1871 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, *Passage to India* occurs as an annex. Aside from these the first appearance of these poems in the Complete Works is in 1876. The edition of 1876 contains one poem, *To You* ("Let us twain walk aside from the rest"), not in the pamphlet of 1871, and omits the poem called *Lessons*.

1871

After All Not to Create Only, 1871. Pamphlet form, pp. 1–24. Title-page: Walt Whitman's/Ameri-

can Institute Poem/AFTER ALL NOT TO/CREATE ONLY/Recited by Walt Whitman on Invitation of/Managers American Institute, on Opening / their 40th Annual Exhibition, New York/noon, September 7, 1871/Boston/Roberts Brothers/1871.

260. After All Not to Create Only.

Notes: In later editions this poem is entitled *Song of the Exposition.* In a prose preface the purpose of the poem is stated as being "to suggest that artists and poets in the United States may best give up old-time and old-world themes, and betake themselves to convey the power, beauty, and nutriment of Humanity here, with current Inventions, Science, Patriotism — and to make labor ideal as well as material."

1871 (72)

Fifth edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1871 (72). Bound in cloth. On back LEAVES/OF/GRASS by/Walt Whitman. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS/Washington, D. C./1872. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1871. Portrait, the wood-cut by Linton, illustrating the *Wound-Dresser.*

The new poems, exclusive of the *Passage to India* group and *After All Not to Create Only* (which form the annexes to this volume) number thirteen:

(237–260 Passage to India poems and After All Not to Create Only).

261. As I Ponder'd in Silence.
262. In Cabin'd Ships at Sea.
263. For Him I Sing.
264. To Thee Old Cause.
265. The Ship Starting.
266. The Base of all Metaphysics.
267. Adieu to a Soldier.
268. O Sun of Real Peace (not in last editions.)
269. Delicate Cluster.
270. Ethiopia Saluting the Colors.
271. Still though the One I Sing.
272. Years of the Modern.
273. Thought (not in last editions.)

Notes: In the arrangement there is an approach to the unity of the final volume. The poems stand here in nearly the last revision, the plates of 1871 serving for 1876. Sections and paragraphs are numbered.

In some special volumes of this date two annexes are bound in: PASSAGE TO INDIA (pp. i–iv, 5–120) and AFTER ALL NOT TO CREATE ONLY (pp. 1–14.)

1872

As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free, and Other Poems, 1872. Pamphlet form, prose preface pp. i–ix; poems,—two leaves without pagination and 1–16; advertisement, pp. 1–8. Title-page: AS A STRONG BIRD ON/PINIONS FREE/AND OTHER

POEMS/Washington, D. C./1872. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1872. The preface is signed "W. W., Washington, D.C. May 31, 1872." The titles of the poems are:

274. One Song America Before I Go (not in last editions).

275. My Legacy.

276. As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free (Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood).

277. The Mystic Trumpeter.

278. O Star of France.

279. Virginia—the West.

280. By Broad Potomac's Shore.

Note: This poem was recited by Whitman as a Commencement Poem at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., June 26, 1872. It was bound in with the *Leaves* in 1876.

1875

Memoranda of the War, 1875. Cloth-bound, pp. i–68. On cover: Walt Whitman's Memoranda of the War, written on the Spot in 1863–'66. Title-page: MEMORANDA/DURING THE WAR/By Walt Whitman / Author's Publication / Camden, New Jersey/1875–'76. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1875.

The title-page is preceded by a personal note and two portraits.

Note: The memoranda and notes became in 1882 parts of *Specimen Days* and other notes.

1876

Sixth edition of poems: First edition of Complete Works in two volumes, the *Centennial Edition,* 1876: Vol. I, *Leaves of Grass,* Vol. II, *Autumn Rivulets* (prose and poems). I., *Leaves of Grass.* Twelve mo., pp. i–vi, 7–384. Bound in half-leather. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS/Author's Edition/ with Portraits and Intercalations/Camden, New Jersey, 1876. The title-page bears also the poem beginning "Come, said my Soul," which is signed in autograph, "Walt Whitman." Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1876. Portraits: facing p. 29 the steel cut from the edition of 1855 illustrating the *Song of Myself;* facing p. 285, the wood-cut by Linton from the edition of 1871, illustrating the *Wound-Dresser.*

II., *Two Rivulets,* prose and poems. Pp. 1–32, 1–84, 1–18, i-x, 1–16, 1–68, 1–120=348 pages. Title-page: TWO/RIVULETS/Including Democratic Vistas, Centennial/Songs, and Passage to India/Author's Edition/Camden, New Jersey/1876. At the top of page the lines: "For the Eternal Ocean bound/These ripples, passing surges, streams of Death and Life." Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1875. Portrait, photograph from life as frontispiece, signed in autograph, Walt Whitman, Washington, 1873.

The new poems appearing in *Two Rivulets* are the following:

281. Come, said my Soul (title-page).

282. Two Rivulets Side by Side (not in last editions).

283. Or from that Sea of Time (not in last editions).

284. Eidolons.

285. Spain.

286. Prayer of Columbus.

287. Out from Behind This Mask.

288. To a Locomotive in Winter.

289. The Ox-Tamer.

290. Wandering at Morn.

291. An Old Man's Thought of School.

292. With All Thy Gifts.

293. From My Last Years (not in last editions).

294. In Former Songs (not in last editions).

295. After the Sea-Ship.

296. Song of the Redwood Tree.

297. Song of the Universal.

298. Song of All Seas, All Ships.

The prose pieces include Preface to *Two Rivulets, Thoughts for the Centennial, Democratic Vistas, General Notes,* Preface to *As a Strong Bird on Pinion's Free, Memoranda During the War.* These pieces all appear in the Complete Prose in 1892.

Notes: Volume I. is the same as the edition of

1871 with the exception of the new title-page and a few poems intercalated. The intercalations vary in different copies. In several volumes appear *As in a Swoon, The Beauty of the Ship, When the Full-grown Poet Came, After an Interval, The Man-of-War-Bird, A Death Sonnet for Custer.*

The pieces in *Two Rivulets* were partially set up by Whitman himself at a printing office in Camden.

1881

Seventh edition of *Leaves of Grass,* 1881. Twelve mo., pp. 1–382. On cover an emblem of a butterfly with raised wings resting upon a hand. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS/Boston/James R. Osgood and Co./1881–1882. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1881. Portrait, facing page 29, illustrating the *Song of Myself* (from the edition of 1855).

The new poems are:

299. Thou Reader.
300. Youth, Day, Old Age, and Night.
301. To the Man-of-War-Bird.
302. Patroling Barnegat.
303. The Dalliance of the Eagles.
304. Roaming in Thought (after reading Hegel).
305. Hast Never Come to Thee an Hour.
306. As Consequent.
307. Italian Music in Dakota.
308. My Picture-Gallery.

309. The Prairie States.
310. A Paumanok Picture.
311. Thou Orb Aloft Full-Dazzling.
312. A Riddle Song.
313. From Far Dakota's Cañons.
314. What Best I See in Thee.
315. Spirit that Form'd This Scene.
316. A Clear Midnight.
317. As at Thy Portals Also Death.
318. The Sobbing of the Bells.

Notes: The poems were given the last revision and the volume had its final arrangement in this edition. Six months after the issue of this edition Osgood and Co. were threatened with prosecution by the Massachusetts District Attorney, at the instance of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, on account of the alleged immorality of the poems, and the publication was abandoned.

1882

Second edition of Complete Works in two volumes: I., *Leaves of Grass;* II., *Specimen Days and Collect.* I., *Leaves of Grass,* twelve mo., pp. 1–382, identical with 1881 edition with the exception of the title-page: LEAVES/OF/GRASS/Author's Edition/ Camden, New Jersey/1882; with the poem beginning "Come, said my Soul" (as in 1876 ed.). II., *Specimen Days and Collect,* a companion volume,

pp. i–vi, 7–374. Title-page: SPECIMEN / DAYS/ AND COLLECT/By Walt Whitman/author of *Leaves of Grass* / Philadelphia / Rees Welsh and Co. / No. 23 South Ninth Street/1882–'83. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1882. Portrait facing p. 122, a photograph of Whitman seated and examining a butterfly poised on his outstretched fore-finger. This book contained *Specimen Days* (including *Memoranda during the War,* and notes published in *The Critic* and other magazines), *Collect,* (including *Democratic Vistas, Prefaces, Poets To-Day in America, Death of Abraham Lincoln,* and other papers,) *Notes Left Over,* and *Pieces in Early Youth.*

Note: Other copies of this edition have the imprint of David McKay of Philadelphia, who succeeded to the business of Rees Welsh & Co.

1888

November Boughs, 1888. Eight vo., pp. 1–140 (prose and poems). Title-page: NOVEMBER BOUGHS/by Walt Whitman/Philadelphia/David McKay, 23 South Ninth Street/1888. Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1888. Frontispiece, portrait of author in 70th year.

The poems of this volume are all new except *Small the Theme of My Chant* (which is from the 1867 edition) and *Stronger Lessons.*

319. Mannahatta.

320. Paumanok.
321. From Montauk Point.
322. To Those Who 've Failed.
323. A Carol Closing Sixty-Nine.
324. The Bravest Soldiers.
325. A Font of Type.
326. As I Sit Writing Here.
327. My Canary Bird.
328. Queries to My Seventieth Year.
329. The Wallabout Martyrs.
330. The First Dandelion.
331. America.
332. Memories.
333. To-day and Thee.
334. After the Dazzle of Day.
335. Abraham Lincoln, born Feb. 12, 1809.
336. Out of May's Shows Selected.
337. Halcyon Days.
338. The Pilot in the Mist.
339. Had I the Choice.
340. Yon Tides with Ceaseless Swell.
341. Last of Ebb, and Daylight Waning.
342. And Yet Not You Alone.
343. Proudly the Flood Comes In.
344. By That Long Scan of Waves.
345. Then Last of All.
346. Election Day, November, 1884.
347. With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea.

348. Death of General Grant.
349. Red Jacket (from Aloft).
350. Washington's Monument, February, 1885.
351. Of That Blithe Throat of Thine.
352. Broadway.
353. To Get the Final Lilt of Songs.
354. Old Salt Kossabone.
355. The Dead Tenor.
356. Continuities.
357. Yonnondio.
358. Life.
359. "Going Somewhere."
360. True Conquerors.
361. The United States to Old World Critics.
362. The Calming Thought of All.
363. Thanks in Old Age.
364. Life and Death.
365. The Voice of the Rain.
366. Soon Shall the Winter's Foil Be Here.
367. While Not the Past Forgetting.
368. The Dying Veteran.
369. A Prairie Sunset.
370. Twenty Years.
371. Orange Buds by Mail from Florida.
372. Twilight.
373. You Lingering Sparse Leaves of Me.
374. Not Meagre, Latent Boughs Alone.
375. The Dead Emperor.

376. As the Greek's Signal Flame.
377. The Dismantled Ship.
378. Now Precedent Songs, Farewell.
379. An Evening Lull.
380. After the Supper and Talk.

The prose pieces include *A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads,* and the score or more notes reprinted in the 1892 edition of Prose Works, pages 375–476.

Note: The group of poems is called *Sands at Seventy.* The group (nos. 338–345) has for a general title *Fancies at Navesink.*

1888–'89

Eighth edition of poems, third edition of Complete Works. One volume, large quarto, pp. 900. On back: Walt Whitman/Complete/Poems & Prose/ Leaves of Grass/Specimen Days/and Collect/November Boughs/ with Sands at Seventy/Annex to L. of G./Portraits from Life, &/Autograph/Ed'n 1888–'9. Title-page: COMPLETE/POEMS AND PROSE/ OF WALT WHITMAN/1855 - 1888/Authenticated and Personal Book (handled by W. W.)/Portrait from Life — Autograph; on this page also a profile portrait. Portraits facing p. 29 and the frontispiece of *November Boughs* Annex. Contents: Note at beginning; *Leaves of Grass* (as in 1881), pp. 1–382; Annex *Sands at Seventy; Specimen Days* and *Collect* (as

in 1882 edition of prose writings), pp. i-vi, 7–374; *November Boughs* (as 1888 edition), pp. 1–140; note at end.

Note: The new pieces in this edition are those taken from *November Boughs.*

1889

Special edition of *Leaves of Grass,* the eighth separate edition of poems. Twelve mo., bound in morocco, pp. 422. Title-page: LEAVES/OF/ GRASS/with Sands at Seventy/And A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads; also a personal note containing the important announcement, "Doubtless, anyhow, the volume is more A Person than a book"; this note followed by author's autograph. Portraits facing pp. 29, 132, 214, 296, and annex of *Sands at Seventy.*

Note: This is a special autograph edition of 300 copies issued in celebration of the author's 70th birthday. *Sands at Seventy* is here incorporated in *Leaves of Grass. A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads* takes its place at the close of the volume.

1891

Good-Bye my Fancy. Eight vo., pp. 1–66, prose and poems. Title-page: GOOD-BYE/MY FANCY/ 2d Annex to Leaves of Grass/Philadelphia/David McKay, Publisher/23 South Ninth Street/ 1891.

Copyright given to Walt Whitman in 1891. Frontispiece, portrait reproduced from sculptor's bust, a profile view in high light and shade. Contents: Thirty-one poems as in '92 ed., vol. I., pp. 407–422; prose essays as in '92 ed., vol. II., pp. 447–522.

The new poems are:

381. Sail Out for Good, Eidólon Yacht.
382. Lingering Last Drops.
383. Good-Bye my Fancy.
384. On, on the Same, Ye Jocund Twain.
385. My 71st Year.
386. Apparitions.
387. The Pallid Wreath.
388. An Ended Day.
389. Old Age's Ship and Crafty Death's.
390. To the Pending Year.
391. Shakspere-Bacon's Cipher.
392. Long, Long Hence.
393. Bravo, Paris Exposition.
394. Interpolation Sounds.
395. To the Sunset Breeze.
396. Old Chants.
397. A Christmas Greeting.
398. Sounds of the Winter.
399. A Twilight Song.
400. When the Full-grown Poet Came.
401. Osceola.
402. A Voice from Death.

403. A Persian Lesson.
404. The Commonplace.
405. "The Rounded Catalogue Divine Complete."
406. Mirages.
407. L. of G.'s Purport.
408. The Unexpress'd.
409. Grand is the Seen.
410. Unseen Buds.
411. Good-Bye my Fancy.

1892

Ninth edition of *Leaves of Grass,* fourth edition of Complete Works, in two volumes, 1892.

I., *Leaves of Grass,* bound in cloth, pp. 1–438. Title-page: LEAVES OF GRASS/Including/Sands at Seventy — 1st Annex/Good-Bye my Fancy — 2d Annex/A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads/ and Portrait from Life/Philadelphia/David McKay, Publisher/23 South Ninth Street/1892; also the poem beginning "Come, said my Soul," signed by autograph. Covered by previous copyrights. Portrait facing p. 29 from 1855 edition. Contents: *Leaves of Grass* (to p. 382 as in 1881 edition): Annex; *Sands at Seventy* (as in *November Boughs,* 1888); Annex: *Good-Bye my Fancy* (as ed. of same in 1891); *A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads* (prose as in *November Boughs,* 1888).

The new poems are those of the *Good-Bye my Fancy* Annex (381–411).

Note: This edition was made up and supervised by Whitman during his last illness. It contains the following note:

"As there are now several editions of *L. of G.*, different texts and dates, I wish to say that I prefer and recommend this present one, complete, for future printing, if there should be any; a copy and facsimile, indeed, of the text of these 438 pages. The subsequent adjusting interval which is so important to form'd and launch'd work, books especially, has pass'd; and waiting till fully after that, I have given (pages 423–438) my concluding words."

II., Prose Works. A companion volume to the poems, pp. i-viii, 7–522. Title-page: COMPLETE/ PROSE / WORKS / Walt Whitman / Philadelphia / David McKay, Publisher / 23 South Ninth Street/ 1892. Covered by previous copyrights. Made up of *Specimen Days* and *Collect* (1882) including pieces of early youth, the prose pieces of *November Boughs* (1888) and *Good-Bye my Fancy* (1891).

1897–'98

Tenth edition of *Leaves of Grass,* fifth edition of Complete Works, in two volumes, 1897.

I., *Leaves of Grass.* Crown octavo, bound in cloth, pp. 1–455. LEAVES OF GRASS / WALT

WHITMAN, in gilt upon the cover, the back decorated with leaves of grass. Title-page: LEAVES OF GRASS/Including/Sands at Seventy, Good Bye My Fancy/Old Age Echoes, and A Backward Glance/ O'er Travel'd Roads/by/WALT WHITMAN/Boston/ Small, Maynard & Company/1897; is marked also by publisher's emblem: Has verses beginning "Come, said my Soul" signed by Whitman's autograph; also the author's note from the 1892 edition. Copyright by Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas B. Harned and Horace L. Traubel, the literary executors of Walt Whitman. Entered also at Stationers Hall. Portraits, the Gutekunst photograph as frontispiece (autographed) and the steel engraving from the 1855 edition. The edition is distinguished by "posthumous additions" called *Old Age Echoes:*

412. To Soar in Freedom and in Fullness of Power.

413. Then Shall Perceive.

414. The Few Drops Known.

415. One Thought Ever at the Fore.

416. While Behind All Firm and Erect.

417. A Kiss to the Bride.

418. Nay, Tell Me Not To-day the Publish'd Shame.

419. Supplement Hours.

420. Of Many a Smutch'd Deed Reminiscent.

421. To Be at All.

422. Death's Valley.

423. On the Same Picture.

424. A Thought of Columbus.

Note: This edition has beside a table of contents an index of first lines. Of this edition, ninety copies on hand-made paper, and with four additional illustrations, were printed for sale in the United States and Great Britain.

II., Prose Works. A companion volume to the poems, pp. 1–527. Title-page: COMPLETE/PROSE WORKS / Specimen Days and Collect, November Boughs / and Good Bye My Fancy / By WALT WHITMAN/Boston/Small, Maynard & Company/ 1898 (with publisher's emblem). Illustrations: frontispiece, a reproduction of a painting by Charles Hine (1859); Whitman's birthplace at West Hills, L. I.; facsimile of manuscript; Whitman's residence at Camden, N. J.; Elias Hicks's portrait; Whitman's tomb. This volume contains one new prose note called *Walt Whitman's Last.*

1897

CALAMUS, A Series of Letters Written/During the Years 1868–1880 by Walt/Whitman to a Young Friend (Peter Doyle). Edited with an Introduction by Richard/Maurice Bucke M.D. One of Whitman's /Literary Executors/Published by Laurens Maynard at 287 Congress/Street in Boston MDCCCXCVII. 12

mo. Pp. i–viii, 1–172. Upon the title-page also a quotation from *L. of G.* Copyright given to Laurens Maynard in 1897. Contents: Chronological notes of Walt Whitman's life; introduction by the editor, containing an interview with Peter Doyle; letters of 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876–1880. Illustrated by a drawing from a photograph of Whitman and Doyle and by a facsimile of a letter.

1898

The/Wound Dresser/A Series of Letters/Written from the Hospitals in Washington/During the War of the Rebellion/By/Walt Whitman/ Edited by/ Richard Maurice Bucke, M.D./One of Whitman's Literary Executors/Boston/Small, Maynard & Company/1898 (with the publisher's emblem). A 12 mo., pp. i–viii, 1–201. Contents: Preface by the Editor, *The Great Army of the Wounded, Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers, Hospital Visits*, Letters of 1862–3, Letters of 1864. Illustrated by a photograph of Whitman during war time.

1899

Notes and Fragments: Left by Walt/Whitman and now Edited by Dr. Richard/Maurice Bucke, One of His Literary Executors/Printed/For Private Distribution Only/1899: has also on the title-page a quo-

tation from *L. of G.* A large quarto, pp. 1–211. Contents: Editor's Preface; first drafts of rejected lines and passages; notes on the meaning and intention of *L. of G.*; memoranda from books and personal reflections; shorter words, sentences, names, etc.; notes on English History; list of magazines and newspapers found among Whitman's papers. Two hundred and fifty copies of these notes were printed.

1900

A reprint of poems published before 1872. One volume, pp. 1–496. Title-page: LEAVES OF GRASS /by/WALT WHITMAN/Including a Fac-simile auto-/biography variorum readings/of the poems and a department/of Gathered Leaves/Philadelphia/David McKay/1022 Market St. Copyright given to David McKay in 1900. Has four portraits, three of them autographed.

Note: This reprint is complete of Whitman's poetical writings up to 1872. It contains a preface, notes as to the dates of poems, some variorum readings, and indexes of titles, prepared by Mr. McKay.

1902

The present edition represents the eleventh distinct publication of *Leaves of Grass* and the sixth edition of Whitman's complete writings.

General Note: Only a few of Whitman's poems appeared in periodicals before publication in *Leaves of Grass.* In one of his late prose notes Whitman made this record: "All along from 1860 to '91, many of the pieces in L of G, and its annexes were first sent to publishers or magazine editors before being printed in the L, and were peremptorily rejected by them, and sent back to their author." And in June, 1890, he had written a little sadly: "The —— rejects and sends back my little poem, so I am now set out in the cold by every big magazine and publisher, and may as well understand and admit it — which is just as well, for I find I am palpably losing my sight and ratiocination." Among the pieces accepted by the papers and magazines I find the following: *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking,* under the title, *A Child's Reminiscence,* in the New York *Saturday Press,* December 24, 1859; *Elemental Drifts,* with the title of *Bardic Symbols,* in *Atlantic Monthly,* April, 1860; *The Return of the Heroes,* called *A Carol of Harvest for 1867,* in *The Galaxy,* September, 1867; *Whispers of Heavenly Death,* in *The Broadway,* October, 1868; *A Broadway Pageant,* in the New York *Citizen,* September 5, 1868; *Proud Music of the Storm,* under title of *Proud Music of the Sea-Storm,* in *Atlantic Monthly,* February, 1869; *The Singer in the Prison,* in *Saturday Evening Visitor,* December, 1869; *After All Not*

to Create Only, in the New York *Evening Post, Commercial Advertiser, Evening Star* (Wash.) and other dailies, September 7, 1871; *O Star of France,* in *The Galaxy,* June, 1871; *The Mystic Trumpeter,* in *The Kansas Magazine,* February, 1872; *Prayer of Columbus,* in *Harper's Monthly,* March, 1874; *Patroling Barnegat* and *My Picture Gallery,* in *The American,* June and October, 1880; *The Dalliance of the Eagles,* in *Copes's Tobacco Plant,* November, 1880; *Patroling Barnegat,* also in *Harper's Monthly,* April, 1881; *The Sobbing of the Bells,* in the *Boston Daily Globe,* September 27, 1881; *Old Age's Lambent Peaks,* in *The Century Magazine,* September, 1883; *With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!* in *Harper's Monthly,* March, 1884; *Of that Blithe Throat of Thine,* in *Harper's Monthly,* January, 1885; *To the Sunset Breeze,* in *Lippincott's Magazine,* December, 1890; *Sounds of the Winter, The Unexpress'd, Sail Out for Good Eidolon Yacht, After the Argument,* in *Lippincott's,* March, 1891; *The Commonplace* in facsimile, in *Munyon's Magazine,* March, 1891; *The Pallid Wreath,* in *The Critic,* January 10, 1891; *Death's Valley,* in *Harper's Monthly,* April, 1896.

The prose stories, essays and notes, were published quite generally in current periodicals. The early stories from 1841 to 1845 appeared in the *Democratic Review* of various dates. *Franklin Evans* occupied one whole number of the *New World* in 1842.

Portions of *Democratic Vistas* were published in *The Galaxy,* December, 1867, and May, 1868, under titles of *Democracy* and *Personalism.* Many of the notes of *Specimen Days* came out first in the New York papers. *The Poetry of the Future* was given to the *North American Review,* February, 1881. *How I Get Around at Sixty,* and other notes from *Specimen Days* were printed by *The Critic* in 1881. I note also the following: *A Memorandum at a Venture,* in the *North American*, June, 1882; *The Bible as Poetry,* in *The Critic,* February 3, 1883; *An Indian Bureau Reminiscence,* in *To-Day,* May, 1884; *A Backward Glance on My Own Road,* in *The Critic,* January 5, 1884; *Thoughts on Shakspere,* in *The Critic*, August 14, 1886; *Robert Burns as Poet and Person,* in the *North American Review,* November, 1886; the note on Abraham Lincoln in *Reminiscences of Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time,* edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, N. Y., 1886; *Some War Memoranda,* in the *North American Review,* January, 1887; *My Book and I,* in *Lippincott's*, January, 1889; *Father Taylor and Oratory*, in *Century Magazine*, February, 1887; *Army Hospitals and Cases, Century Magazine,* October, 1888; *An Old Man's Rejoinder, The Critic,* August 16, 1890; *Old Poets,* the *North American Review,* November, 1890; *Shakespeare for America,* in *Poet-Lore*, September, 1890; *Have We a National Literature,* in the *North*

American Review, March, 1891; *Some Personal and Old Age Memoranda, Lippincott's,* March, 1891; *How Leaves of Grass Was Made* (a part of *A Backward Glance*), in *Frank Leslie's Monthly*, June, 1892; *The Death of Carlyle* and the note on the death of Longfellow were reprinted also from *The Critic.*

OTHER EDITIONS

American: *Selected Poems by Walt Whitman,* edited by Arthur Stedman, N. Y., 1892, with portrait and sixty-three titles; *Selections from Leaves of Grass* (Gems from Walt Whitman), by Elizabeth Porter Gould, Phil. 1889; selections in *Library of American Literature,* edited by Stedman and Hutchinson, Vol. 7, pp. 501–513; selections in *The Magazine of Poetry,* January, 1889; selections in Lewis's *Introduction to the Study of Literature,* N. Y. 1899; *Selections from Walt Whitman,* edited by O. L. Triggs, Boston, 1898; selections in *An American Anthology,* edited by E. C. Stedman, Boston, 1891 (pp. 221–232), with biographical note (p. 830). Prose pieces in *Autobiographia,* edited by Arthur Stedman, N. Y., 1892; *American Prose* (N. Y., 1898), edited by G. C. Carpenter, with an introduction by George Santayana; *Selections from Walt Whitman,* edited by O. L. Triggs, Boston, 1898.

English: *Leaves of Grass,* London, David Bogue,

1881; *Leaves of Grass,* Glasgow, 1883; *Poems by Walt Whitman,* edited by W. M. Rossetti, London, 1868 (with portrait and introduction, reprint of 1855 preface, and one hundred and three poems). *Poems by Walt Whitman,* edited by Ernest Rhys, in the "Canterbury Poets" series, London, 1886 (with introduction). *Poems by Walt Whitman,* in *The Penny Poets,* edited by W. T. Stead, London, 1895; *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd,* reprinted at Essex House Press (a limited edition of 125 copies, with special designs and illustrations by C. R. Ashbee). The prose preface to the 1855 edition was reprinted by Trübner & Co., 1881; *Specimen Days and Collect,* Glasgow, 1883; *Specimen Days in America,* edited by Ernest Rhys, in "Camelot Series," London, 1888; *Democratic Vistas and Other Papers,* edited by Ernest Rhys, in "Camelot Series," London, 1888; *November Boughs,* London, 1889; selections in Edmond Holmes's *Walt Whitman,* London, 1902.

Translations: German: *Grashalme,* translation of *Leaves of Grass,* by Karl Knortz and T.W. Rolleston, Zurich, 1889; *Song of the Answerer,* translated by T. W. Rolleston, in *Ueber Wordsworth und Walt Whitman,* Dresden, 1883.

Italian: *Canti Scelti,* translation of *Leaves of Grass,* by Luigi Gamberale, Biblioteca Universale, Milan, 1887.

French: Selections from poems translated by Gabriel Sarrazin, in *La Renaissance de la Poésie Anglaise;* selections translated in *La Vogue,* 1886; *La Revue Indépendante,* November, 1888.

Note: There are also translations into Russian, and Sir Edwin Arnold has translated selections from the poems into several Asiatic languages. It is noticeable that the poems pass easily and naturally into other languages than English, the rhythms being psychical rather than external and the thoughts so elemental and universal. In some cases the poems seem to gain by translation. Whitman is easily parodied also—see *Parodies,* part 58, vol. 5.

Whitman's writings and conversations not published in the Complete Works:

Franklin Evans; or, The Inebriate, a Tale of the Times, by Walter Whitman, chapters i–xxv. Published in the *New World,* November, 1842.

The prose essays in explanation and interpretation of his work, written in 1855 and 1856, *Walt Whitman and His Poems, Leaves of Grass, An English and American Poet,* reprinted in *In Re Walt Whitman.*

Letters written during the war from Washington, published in *Century Magazine,* October, 1893; letters written to his mother during his illness in Washington in 1873, published in *In Re Walt Whitman;* letters to William Sloane Kennedy concerning Emerson,

published in *Poet-Lore,* February, 1895; letters to Thomas Donaldson and others, published in *Walt Whitman, the Man;* letters to W. M. Rossetti and Mrs. Gilchrist, published in *Anne Gilchrist, Life and Writings;* letters to Karl Knortz, published in *Walt Whitman, Der Dichter der Demokratie.*

Conversations in 1880, reported by Dr. Bucke in *Walt Whitman;* 1887, reported by Sidney Morse, in *In Re Walt Whitman;* 1891, at the Round Table in Philadelphia, reported by Horace L. Traubel, in *In Re Walt Whitman;* reported by Anne Gilchrist, *Life and Writings,* chapter xix; conversations respecting Murger's poem, reported by H. L. Traubel, in *Poet-Lore,* October, 1894; 1892, or during the last years of life, reported by H. L. Traubel, in *The Arena,* January, 1896; other notes in *Camden's Compliment to Walt Whitman, Chats with Walt Whitman, Eclectic Monthly,* April, 1898, by Grace Gilchrist.

Notes on Physique, recorded by T. B. Harned, in a Fellowship Paper, *Whitman and Physique,* in 1899; a note on Immortality, in *In Re Walt Whitman;* preface to *Three Tales,* by W. D. O'Connor, Boston, 1892.

B.—Biographical and Critical

B. BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL

I.—Books

NOTES ON WALT WHITMAN AS POET AND PERSON, by John Burroughs, N. Y., first edition 1867, second edition 1871. Out of print. Contents: First Acquaintance with Poem and Poet, The Earlier Issues or Editions, Review of the Completed Poem, Standard of the Natural Universal, Beauty, Personality, Further Points, Personal Sketch, Drum-Taps, Supplementary Notes.

WALT WHITMAN, by R. M. Bucke, M.D., Phil. 1883 (authorized biography), with portrait of Whitman from painting by Gilchrist, and from photograph taken in 1880, portraits of Whitman's father and mother, and pen sketches in Long Island by Pennell. Contents: Chronology, Biographical Sketch, Personnel, Conversation, Letters from W. D. O'Connor and his "Good Gray Poet," History of "Leaves of Grass," Analysis of Poems, Appendix: Contemporaneous Criticisms.

IN RE WALT WHITMAN, ed. by Whitman's literary

executors, H. L. Traubel, R. M. Bucke, T. B. Harned, Phil. 1893 (supplementary to Dr. Bucke's Walt Whitman, 1883). Contents: Love and Death: A Symphony by J. A. Symonds, Walt Whitman and his Poems by Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass by Walt Whitman, An English and American Poet by Walt Whitman, Notes from Conversations with George W. Whitman (1893) by H. L. Traubel, A Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman by Anne Gilchrist, The Man Walt Whitman by R. M. Bucke, Letters in Sickness (Washington, 1873) by Walt Whitman, Walt Whitman and his Recent Critics by J. Burroughs, Walt Whitman at Date by H. L. Traubel, "The Good Gray Poet" Supplemental, by W. D. O'Connor, Walt Whitman by Gabriel Sarrazin (tr. fr. French), Dutch Traits of Walt Whitman by W. S. Kennedy, Poet and Philosopher and Man by H. L. Traubel, Quaker Traits of Walt Whitman by W. S. Kennedy, Walt Whitman by Karl Knortz (tr. fr. German), Walt Whitman, the Poet of American Democracy, by Rudolph Schmidt (tr. fr. Danish), "Leaves of Grass" and Modern Science by R. M. Bucke, Liberty in Literature by R. G. Ingersoll, Walt Whitman by T. W. Rolleston (tr. fr. German), Round Table with Walt Whitman by H. L. Traubel, Walt Whitman and the Cosmic Sense by R. M. Bucke, Immortality by Walt Whitman, The Poet of Immortality by T. B. Harned, Walt Whitman and the Com-

mon People by J. Burroughs, My Summer with Walt Whitman (1887) by S. H. Morse, The Last Sickness and Death of Walt Whitman by Daniel Longaker, Last Days of Walt Whitman by J. W. Wallace, At the Graveside of Walt Whitman by H. L. Traubel (addresses by Harned, Brinton, Bucke, Ingersoll), Poems and Minor Pieces.

Camden's Compliments to Walt Whitman May 31, 1889, Notes, Addresses, Letters, Telegrams, ed. by Horace L. Traubel, Phil. 1889. Frontispiece: photograph of Whitman's bust from the clay model by Sidney H. Morse, 1887. Contents: Autobiographic Note, Response, To Walt Whitman (poem) by Ernest Rhys, "Recorders Ages Hence" by H. L. Traubel, Addresses by Gray, Harned, Gilchrist, Williams, Clifford, Garrison, Armstrong, Gilder, Hawthorne, Garland, Bonsall, Eyre; Letters from Tennyson, Rossetti, William Morris, Dowden, Carpenter, Burroughs, Stedman, Howells, Whittier, Aldrich, Furness, Childs, Mark Twain, Carleton, Curtis, and others; Telegrams and Postscript.

Walt Whitman, by William Clarke, London, 1892, with portrait of Whitman. Contents: Personality, Message to America, Art, Democracy, Spiritual Creed.

Walt Whitman, A Study, by J. A. Symonds, with portrait and four illustrations, London, 1893. Contents: Notice of Walt Whitman's Life, Study of Walt

Whitman: Religion, Personality, Sex-love, Love of Comrades, Democracy, Art.

Browning and Whitman: A Study in Democracy, by Oscar L. Triggs, London, New York, 1893. Contents: Ch. v., Whitman, General Relationship; vi., Browning and Whitman, the Personality, Man and Nature, Man in his Entirety, Life and Immortality, Love or the Social Side of Life.

Reminiscences of Walt Whitman: With Extracts from his Letters and Remarks on his Writings, by William Sloane Kennedy, London, 1896.

Whitman: A Study, by John Burroughs, Boston, 1896, with portrait. Contents: Preliminary, Biographical and Personal, Ruling Ideas and Aims, Self-reliance, Relation to Art and Literature, Relation to Life and Morals, Relation to Culture, Relation to Country and Times, Relation to Science, Relation to Religion, A Final Word.

Walt Whitman: The Man, by Thomas Donaldson, New York, 1896, with portrait and facsimile. Contents: Mr. Whitman in Washington, 1862–73; in Camden, 1873–92; as a Lecturer; Literary Aims, Hopes, Expected Literary Results, and Religious Views; Services to the Union in the War of the Rebellion, 1862–65; Horse and Buggy, 1885; Friends and Correspondents, 1872–92; Last Illness, Death and Burial.

Diary Notes of A Visit to Walt Whitman and

Some of His Friends, in 1890, with a Series of Original Photographs, by John Johnston, M.D. Manchester, 1898. Contents: First Interview, Second, Third, Fourth, Additional Notes, Visit to Brooklyn, Visit to West Hills, Visit to Herbert Gilchrist, Visit to John Burroughs, Supplementary Notes. Photographs: W. W. in 1890, Mickle Street, Camden, N. J., W. W.'s Room, W. W.'s House, W. W. on Camden Wharf, W. W. and Warry Fritzinger on Camden Wharf, In W. W.'s House, The Fulton Ferry Boat, West Hills (Long Island), John Burroughs, John Burroughs' Study, Facsimile of a Whitman Letter.

La Poesia di Walt Whitman, e l'Evoluzione della Forme Ritmiche, Turin, Italy, 1898, by P. Jannaccone.

Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman, by Elizabeth Porter Gould, Phil., 1900. Contains as an Appendix Mrs. Gilchrist's A Confession of Faith.

Walt Whitman, by Robert Louis Stephenson, and A Little Journey to the Home of Whitman, by Elbert Hubbard. The Roycroft Shop, 1900.

Walt Whitman: Two Addresses, by William Mackintire Salter, Phil., 1899. Contents: The Great Side of Walt Whitman, The Questionable Side of Walt Whitman.

Walt Whitman's Poetry: A Study and a Selection, by Edmond Holmes, London and New York, 1902.

WHITMAN'S IDEAL DEMOCRACY, by Helena Born, Boston, 1902. Contents: Whitman's Ideal Democracy, Thoreau's Joy in Nature, Poets of Revolt: Shelley, Whitman, Carpenter, Whitman's Altruism, Individualism versus Organization, Ingenuities of Economic Argument, The Last Stand Against Democracy in Sex, Inequality in Divorce, Marriage Safeguards.

II.—Pamphlets

THE GOOD GRAY POET: A VINDICATION, by William Douglas O'Connor, N. Y., 1866. (Reprinted in Bucke's Walt Whitman.)

UEBER WORDSWORTH UND WALT WHITMAN, by H. B. Cotterill and T. W. Rolleston, Dresden, Germ., 1883.

WALT WHITMAN, POET AND DEMOCRAT, by John Robertson in Round Table Series, Edinburgh, 1884.

WALT WHITMAN, by Karl Knortz, N. Y., 1886. (Written in German.)

THE POET AS A CRAFTSMAN, by William Sloane Kennedy, Phil., 1886.

THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN LITERATURE: WALT WHITMAN, by James Wilkie, Cupar-Fife (Scot.), 1886.

WALT WHITMAN: Man and Poet, by Thomas T. Greg, Warrington (England), 1888.

NOTES OF VISIT TO WALT WHITMAN, by Dr. J. Johnston, Bolton (Eng.), 1890 (privately printed).

LIBERTY IN LITERATURE, a testimonial to W. W. by Robert G. Ingersoll, N. Y., 1890. With portrait of Whitman. Reprinted in In Re Walt Whitman, 1893.

CONVERSATIONS WITH WALT WHITMAN, by Sadakichi (Hartmann), N. Y., 1894.

WALT WHITMAN: His Relation to Science and Philosophy, a Paper read at the meeting of the Australasian Ass'n for the Adv. of Science, in Jan. 1895, by William Gay, Melbourne, 1895.

WALT WHITMAN: Little Journeys to the Homes of American Authors, by Elbert Hubbard, N. Y., 1896.

WOMAN AND FREEDOM, by Helen Abbott Michael, Boston, 1897. (A reprint from Poet-Lore Magazine, April–June, 1897.)

WALT WHITMAN: AS RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TEACHER, by William Norman Guthrie, Cincinnati, 1899. (A limited edition of 100 copies.)

WALT WHITMAN: Der Dichter der Demokratie, von Karl Knortz, Leipzig, Germ., 1899. Contains also some new translations into German of portions of Leaves of Grass, and a series of letters written by W. W. to Karl Knortz.

THE OPEN ROAD, OR THE HIGHWAY OF THE SPIRIT:

An Inquiry into Whitman's Absolute Shepherd, a thesis presented to Cornell University by Charles Bell Burke.

Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers (Fel. org. May 31, 1894, Phil., H. L. Traubel, Sec., Camden, N. J.): Walt Whitman as Deliverer, by F. H. Williams. Whitman's Self-reliance, by John Burroughs. A Visit to West Hills, by D. G. Brinton and H. L. Traubel. A Short Reading Course in Whitman, by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke. The American Idea in Whitman, by Charlotte Porter. A Convert to Whitman, by Edward Payson Jackson. Memories of Whitman, by Richard Maurice Bucke. Walt Whitman's Comradeship, by Laurens Maynard. Whitman: Radical or Conservative, by George J. Smith. Blending of Orient and Occident in Whitman, by Wayland H. Smith. Self-Primacy in Whitman, by Gustav P. Wicksell. Walt Whitman: An Address, by Richard Le Gallienne. Walt Whitman's Unsung Songs, by Charlotte Abbey.

III.—Essays in Books

Prefatory Notice, by W. M. Rossetti, in his edition of Whitman's poems, London, 1868.

Walt Whitman, in David Gray and Other Essays, by Robert Buchanan, London, 1868.

The Flight of the Eagle, in Birds and Poets, by John Burroughs, Boston, 1878.

WALT WHITMAN, in Poets' Homes, by Arthur Gilman, Boston, 1879. With three portraits.

WALT WHITMAN, in Familiar Studies of Men and Books, by Robert Louis Stevenson, London, 1882. Reprinted at the Roycroft Press, 1900.

WALT WHITMAN, in Buster og Masker; Literatur-Studier, by Rudolf Schmidt, Copenhagen, 1882.

WALT WHITMAN in American Literature (pp. 207–214), by John Nichol, Edinburgh, 1882.

WALT WHITMAN, in Pen Pictures of Modern Authors, by William Shepard, N. Y., 1883.

WALT WHITMAN, in Poets of America, by Edmund Clarence Stedman, Boston, 1885.

A STUDY OF WALT WHITMAN, in Essays on Poetry and Poets, by Roden Noël, London, 1886.

INTRODUCTION to the Poems of Walt Whitman, by Ernest Rhys in his ed., London, 1886.

INTRODUCTION to Italian edition of Leaves of Grass (Canti Scelti), by Luigi Gamberale, Milan, 1887.

THE AMERICAN SOCRATES, in A Look around Literature, by Robert Buchanan, London, 1887.

AN ENGLISHWOMAN'S ESTIMATE OF WALT WHITMAN: A Confession of Faith, in Anne Gilchrist, her Life and Writings, ed. by Herbert H. Gilchrist, London, 1887. Introduction by W. M. Rossetti, *passim*.

VORWORT UND EINLEITUNG, introducing German translation of Selected Poems (Grashalme) by Karl Knortz and T. W. Rolleston, Zurich, 1889.

Walt Whitman Among the Soldiers, in Gems from Walt Whitman, by Elizabeth Porter Gould, Phil., 1889.

Renaissance de la Poésie Anglaise, 1778–1889, par Gabriel Sarrazin, Paris, 1889. Chapters on Shelley, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson, Browning, Whitman. Themes of concluding chapter: Pantheism, The New World, Leaves of Grass, Walt Whitman (English translation in In Re W. W.).

Walt Whitman, in American Literature (pp. 261–266), by Julian Hawthorne and Leonard Lemmon, Boston, 1891.

Walt Whitman, in Twenty Modern Men: from the National Observer, London, 1891.

The Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman, in Studies in Literature 1789–1877, by Edward Dowden, London, 1892.

Whitman, in The New Spirit, by Havelock Ellis, London, 1892 (relation with Diderot, Heine, Ibsen, Tolstoy).

Democratic Art, in Essays Speculative and Suggestive, by J. A. Symonds, London, 1893.

Whitmania, in Studies in Prose and Poetry, by A. C. Swinburne, London, 1894. Reprinted from Fortnightly Review, Aug. 1, 1887.

Introduction to selected poems of Walt Whitman, in Penny Poets Series, by W. T. Stead, London, 1894.

Walt Whitman, in That Dome in Air, by John Vance Cheney, Chicago, 1895.

Walt Whitman, in Modern Poet-prophets, by William Norman Guthrie, Cincinnati, 1897.

Walt Whitman, in American Bookmen, by M. A. De Wolfe Howe, N. Y., 1898.

Introduction to Selections from Whitman's Prose and Poetry, by Oscar L. Triggs, Boston, 1898.

Wagner, Millet and Whitman, in Angels' Wings, by Edward Carpenter, London, 1898.

A Day with the Good Gray Poet, in Literary Shrines, by Theodore F. Wolfe, Phil.

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Index

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A

Abbey, Charlotte, x., 112
Abbott, Doctor, vii., 53
Abraham, x., 8
Abraham Lincoln, iv., 70; vi., 202
Actors, famous, of old New York, iv., 24–27
Actors fifty years ago, vi., 184
Actors, old, flitting mention of, vii., 49
Actresses, famous, of old New York, iv., 24–27
Adams, vii., 56
Additional Note, 1887, vi., 197
Additional Note, 1887, To English Edition Specimen Days, vi., 197
Address to Ruin, vi., 141
Adonais, vi., 106
Æneid, The, ix., 101
Aërial effects, iv., 264
Æsthetics—Art—Science, x., 16
Aetius, x., 49
Africa, geography of, ix., 219
After First Fredericksburg, iv., 39
After the Argument, vii., 30
After Trying a Certain Book, v., 39
Afternoon Scene, An, iv., 174
Agamemnon, v., 255
Agassiz, Professor, viii., 220
Agate, iv., 271
Agricola, Cnæus Julius, x., 46
Ainslee, Robert, vi., 129
Alabama, vii., 144
Alaric the Goth, x., 48
Albany, i., xxxv.; vi., 216
Albion, x., 39, 42
Alboni, Marietta, iv., 26, 292; vi., 185; vii., 22, 49; viii., 248
Alcott, A. Bronson, i., lxxix.; v., 23
Alcott, Louisa, v., 23
Alcott, William, funeral of, iv., 190
Alexander the Great, x., 9
Alexandria, iv., 77; viii., 8
Alexandrian Library, x., 9
Alida, i., xxxv.
Allectus, x., 47
Alleghanian Band, vii., 53
Allen, viii., 66
All is not Gold that Glitters, vii., 50
Ambulance Processions, iv., 62
America, Whitman's love for, i., xc.; counts on the future, v., 50; and democracy convertible

America—*Continued*
terms, 57; subjection impossible to, 59; official services of, 62; political genesis of, 68; honeycombed with infidelism to itself, 86; takes its models from abroad, 99; still copies Europe, 126; alone has no ballads, 130; problem of, its future dark, 143; a seething mass of materials, 187; a prophecy, 200; needs the influence of Europe, 212; has she produced any great poet? 214; without sound and moral health-action, 224; features in common with Russia, 260; needs men of sturdy characters rather than cultivated gentlemen, 268; only reason for existing, 269; most needs patriotism, 274; should study literature of all nations, 275, 277; history of past century in, 288; has contributed nothing great to art or literature, 292; to build a superior humanity, 295; in the tentative state, vi., 101; symbols of, 102; a huge world of peoples, vii., 5; needs her own poems, ix., 29
America, The New Inland, x., 11
America, the yacht, viii., 51
America's Back-Bone, iv., 261
America's Bulk Average, vii., 67
America's Characteristic Landscape, iv., 272
America's first distinctive poem, ix., 35
America's general humanity sound at the core, v., 283
America's intellectual debt to the Old World, v., 228
America's legacies from Old World, v., 296
America's lesson to Europe, v., 81
America's task, v., 50
America's task more than to achieve equal franchise, v., 125
American Institute, i., lxvii.
American literary snobs, v., 282
American literature, chief demands of future, iii., 50; future of, iv., 275; Margaret Fuller on, v., 299; evolution principle in, vii., 11; must be healthy, 11
American mind, evolution in, v., 289
American National Literature, vii., 3
American nationality, its narrow escape from destruction, v., 144
American people, the, x., 23
American poetry lacks raciness, v., 214
American Poets, are any equal to best English poets? vii, 23
American poets must sing of democracy, i., li.
American Problem, An, v., 300
American rag-pickers, v., 286
American Review, v., 48
American Revolution, vi., 129
American singers, fatal defects of, v., 217
American Society from a Park Policeman's Point of View, vi., 166
American Union in a formative condition, v., 198
American verse has no principle of reproduction, v., 214
Americans abroad, v., 282
Americans have poetical natures, v., 161
Americans have yet to learn their antecedents, vi., 116
Americans, prevailing traits of, vii., 7
Americans spiritual as well as material, v., 221

Americans should have expressions of their own in literature, v., 212
Amodio, vii., 56
Amusement, pure, viii., 267
Analogies, the truest not on the surface, ix., 15
Analostan Island, vi., 177
Anatomical Notes, x., 22
Anderson (actor), vi., 185; vii., 56
Andersonville, 13,000 deaths in, iv., 121
Angelo, Michel, v., 118, 244
Anglesey, x., 45
Annals of Old Painters, iii., 64
Anonymous benefactors, iv., 97
Answer to an Insisting Friend, iv., 5
Anthony, Senator, vi., 182
Antoninus Pius, x., 46
Apology, Whitman's, for possible errors in *Collect* and *Specimen Days*, v., 47
Apostate, The, vi., 188
Appleton's Journal, viii., 218
April noon, an, iv., 233
Aquia creek, iv., 40, 62
Aquia Creek Hospital, iv., 59
Arabian Nights, the, delights Whitman, iv., 17
Arianism, x., 51
Ariel, iv., 222
Aristophanes, vii., 9; ix., 99
Aristotle, ix., 99
Aristotle and Plato contrasted, x., 16
Armies Returning, The, iv., 125
Armory Square Hospital, iv., 45, 65
Army and navy, present system of officering, v., 91
Army Hospital Ward, An, iv., 48
Army of the Potomac, vii., 237, 250, 251, 253, 256
Army Surgeons—Aid Deficiencies, iv., 99
Army surgeons' zeal, vii., 125
Army wagons and ambulances, vii., 194
Arnold, Matthew, v., 21; vi., 97; strange opinion of history, v., 13
Art Features, iv., 263
As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free, i., lxvii.
As in a Swoon, vii., 29
Ashton, Hubley, viii., 6, 89, 144, 200, 202, 209, 218, 230, 232, 240
Asia, peoples of, ix., 216
Astor, John Jacob, fine horses of, iv., 22, 23
Astor House, v., 241
Athenæum Society, vii., 55
At Present Writing—Personal, v., 38
At the Complimentary Dinner, Camden, New Jersey, May 31, 1889, vii., 35
Attitude of Foreign Governments during the War, iv., 110
Attorney General's Office, 1865, vi., 217
Attorney General's Office, i., lxii.; vii., 45; comfortable rooms in, viii., 198
Auber, iv., 26
Audience, how to capture an, viii., 254
Audubon proposed wild turkey as ensign of America, ix., 138
Aurelius, Marcus, definition of Virtue, v., 44
Austin, Mrs., iv., 26; vii., 52, 56
Author's American sneer at democracy, v., 282
Authors, list of, ix., 224
Authors, modern—what they write about and what they neglect, v., 120
Author's Note from 1891–2 Edition, i., vi.
Authors should compose in forenoon, ix., 192

Autumn Side Bits, iv., 160
Average man only, important, v., 88
Avesta, i., l.
Aztecs, vi., 118

B

Back to Nature, iv., 145
Back to Washington, iv., 40
Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads, A, i., lxxv.
Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads, A, iii., 41
Bacon, Lord, iv., 293
Badiali, iv., 26; vi., 185; vii., 56
Bad Wounds—the Young, iv., 63
Baldwin, Captain, vii., 272
Baldwin Mansion, iv., 231
Balky Bill, stage driver, iv., 24
Ball at Patent Office—contrast to scene when used as hospital, iv., 114
Ball in Philadelphia, iv., 249
Balloons, viii., 105
Ball Plain, vii., 267, 268, 275
Balsirs, the, pilots, iv., 21
Bancroft, vi., 293
Bard's Epitaph, A, vi., 141
Bards needed by America and the world, v., 141
Barker, John, vii., 162, 196, 198
Barr, Amelia, vi., 131
Barrett, Dennis, vii., 148, 150
Bartol, Doctor, vi., 111
Bathgate, H. J., i., lxxi.
Bathing, boys in, v., 17, 18
Battery, the, New York, iv., 25–27
Battle-Field, The, vi., 292
Battle of Bull Run, July, 1861, iv., 31
Battle of Gettysburg, iv., 65
Battles, no proper care of wounded immediately after, vii., 119
Baxter, Doctor, vii., 99
Bazoo, The, vi., 155
Beatty, Sam, vii., 150, 234
Beaudelaire, Charles, v., 218
Beauties of Virginia, iv., 85
Beecher, Henry Ward, vi., 99; vii., 55; viii., 51
Beemer, Doctor, iv., 295
Beers', Henry A., verses on a bumble-bee, iv., 151
Beethoven's Septette, iv., 217
Before and Afterwards, ix., 17
Begin a Long Jaunt West, iv., 252
Belief in underlying principles not honest, v., 61
Belle Isle Prison, iv., 121
Bell, Pensey and George, viii., 50, 64
Bellini, v., 217
Benedict, Mr. and Mrs., viii., 203
Benevantano, vii., 56
Bent's Fort, iv., 271
Berry, iv., 57
Bertucca, vii., 56
Best is always cumulative, the, v., 21
Best lesson of the century, iv., 30
Bettini, vi., 185; vii., 22, 49, 56; viii., 248
Beverly, v., 32
Bible as Poetry, The, vi., 104
Bible, the, v., 269, 292; vi., 102; x., 9; transcends all masterpieces, vi., 105; sure to survive, 108; not a complete poem, ix., 100
Bibliography of Walt Whitman, x., 135
Big Frank, stage-driver, iv., 24
Billings, Mrs., military funeral of, iv., 103
Binkley, viii., 229
Bird concert, a, iv., 199
Bird-Whistling, iv., 199
Birds—and a Caution, v., 11

Index

Birds and Birds and Birds, iv., 177
Birds come North, iv., 235
Birds Migrating at Midnight, iv., 146
Birthday, extract from letter written on 64th, v., 38
Birthday reflections, iv., 197
Blake, Doctor, viii., 98
Blake, William, vii., 16
Blanqui—tribute of Louise Michel, v., 14
Bliss, Doctor, vii., 99
Blood Money, v., 48
Bloom, ix., 142
Blue Everywhere, The, iv., 100
Blue Mountains, iv., 85
Boadicea, x., 45
Boccaccio, x., 14
Bombastes Furioso, vii., 51
Book-Classes—America's Literature, v., 299
Book learning good but sometimes stands in the way of real power, ix., 9
Book of Job, vi., 137
Books, a true question to ask respecting, v., 139
Books show what a nation is, vii., 5
Booth and Forrest taboo'd by polite society, vi., 190
Booth, Junius Brutus, iv., 26, 292; vi., 185; vii., 22, 49, 56; rôles of, iv., 26; vi., 193; a criticism of, vi., 186
Booth, J. Wilkes, v., 29
Bosio, iv., 27; vii, 56; viii., 248
Boston Common—More of Emerson, v., 26
Boston District Attorney censures *Leaves of Grass*, viii., 289
Boston Globe, The, x., 119
Boston Hellenic, v., 7
Boston, immense material growth of, v., 5
Boston of To-Day, The, v., 6
Boston Transcript, The, vii., 36
Bowen, Charles, viii., 40
Bowen, Doctor, vii., 99
Bowen, Mayor, negro procession in honor of, viii., 226
Bowery Theatre, the, iv., 24; vi., 185; vii., 56; benefit night, vi., 188; actresses at, 189; "main reason for being," 189; enthusiastic audiences in, 190; well-known people among the audiences, 191; when character of, changed, 191
Boyle, Father, viii., 64
Boyle, Mr., vii., 200
Boy Lover, The, vi., 49
Boyne, viii., 287
Boys in the Army, iv., 102
Brahmanism, i., l.
Brandy station, iv., 83; vi., 171; vii., 114, 238
Bravery of wounded at Chancellorsville, iv., 52
Bread-seeds of printed mentality, vii., 3
Break, Break, vi., 146
Bremer, Miss, vi., 156
Bretwalda, x., 59
Brignoli, vii., 56; viii., 80, 214, 248
Brigs of Age, vi., 139
Britain, ancient, ravaged by pirates, 47; linen made in, x., 53; minerals in, 53; ships of, 53; money and weights of, 54
Britannia, iv., 246
British in China, ix., 59
British Literature, v., 274
British poets, ideas of royalty inextricable from, ix., 114
Britons, ancient weapons of, x., 43; dauntlessness of, 45; aboriginal, 56
Broadaxe, notes for, x., 126

Broadway Jack, stage driver, iv., 24
Broadway Journal, The, iv., 22; viii., 22, 220
Broadway Sights, iv., 21
Broadway stage-line, iv., 23
Broadway Theatre, the, iv., 24
Brontë, Emily, prayer of, v., 15
Brooklyn, city of, iv., 5, 13, 20; Lafayette lays corner-stone of public library in, 17; streets of, in which Whitman lived, 17; City Hall, 18; description of, in 1830–40, 18; soldiers from, vii., 95
Brooklyn Eagle, The, vii., 100
Brooklyn 14th Regiment, iv., 83
Brooklyn Heights, iv., 17
Brooklyn Post-office, bad reputation of, viii., 225
Brooks, Livingston, a bad case of fever, vii., 169
Brougham, the actor, v., 21; vii., 56
Brougham, Lord, ix., 64
Brougham oration *On the Crown*, viii., 256
Brown, Lewis, vii., 225, 227, 229, 234, 242; viii., 201
Brown, Richard, vi., 129
Brown, Sergeant, vii., 261
Brown University, vi., 182
Browning, Robert, viii., 229; not easily understood, vi., 295
Bruno, Giordano, vii., 24
Brush, Conklin, vii., 160
Brush, Hannah, Whitman's grandmother, i., xiv., xviii.; iv., 12
Brush, Major, i., xix.
Bryant, William Cullen, iv., 21, 202; v., 214; vi., 99, 183; vii., 24, 55; funeral of, iv., 203; tribute to, v., 9; opinion of prose and poetry, 14
Bryant, *Flood of Years*, ix., 14
Bryant, *Thanatopsis*, ix., 14
Buchan, Earl of, vi., 133
Buchanan, v., 152, 154
Buchanan, Robert, *Socrates in Camden*, i., lxxi.
Bucke, Richard Morris, i., lxxii., xcvi.; iii., 43; iv., 293; v., 29; vi., 198; vii., 34, 60; x., 360; biographical work, i., lxvi.
Bucke's *Walt Whitman*, i., lxxiv.; vii., 27; ix., 24
Buckley's Serenaders, viii., 64
Bucolics and *Georgics, The*, ix., 101
Buddha on hatred, v., 13
Buffalo, vi., 216
Bull Run, first battle of, iv., 31; retreat to Washington after battle, 33; agitation in Washington after battle, 35
Bulwer-Lytton, viii., 255
Bumble-Bees, iv., 147
Bunyan, x., 8
Burbage, Richard, ix., 91, 189
Burial of a Lady Nurse, iv., 103
Burleighs, the, vii., 55
Burlingame, viii., 226
Burning Drift-wood, vii., 19
Burns, Bill, viii., 124
Burns, Gilbert, vi., 133
Burns, Robert, iv., 285; v., 292; vi., 289; vii., 23; ix., 82; x., 8; a sample "middle-class" man, vi., 128; essentially a Republican, 128; correspondence, 129; close to the earth, 130; fascination of his poems, 131; life, 131; loved by many, 131; well-named the "Ploughman," 133; poetizes work-a-day life, 134, 136; a Jacobite, 137; democratic, 137; has no spirituality, 137; has his own niche, 138; statue of, 138; his use of Scotch dialect, 139;

Burns, Robert—*Continued*
poems suited to homely taste, 139; poems have "snap," 140; melancholy, 141; most characteristic poems, 141; the tenderest flesh-and-blood poet, 142
Burnside, General, vii., 142, 196, 201, 203, 248, 250, 253, 256, 260, 273, 277
Burnside's army passes through Washington, vii., 248
Burroughs, John, i., lxiii., lxxvi.; v., 29; vi., 145; vii., 60; viii., 5, 100, 103, 110, 144, 186, 219, 225, 228; on Whitman, i., xxxiii.; biography, second edition, lxvii.; on Thoreau, v., 14; wife of, viii., 7
Burroughs, *Birds and Poets*, i., lxx.
Burroughs, *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person*, ix., 23
Business aims, v., 62
Butterflies, iv., 217
By Blue Ontario's Shore, x., 106, 115
By Emerson's Grave, v., 37
Byrd, Thomas J., a Southern soldier, vi., 234
Byron, Lord, iv., 285; v., 216; vi., 289; vii., 23, 46; three happy hours, iv., 162; American slander of, v., 282

C

Cæsar, Julius, v., 253; x., 43
Calamus, i., xxxiii., lxiv., lxxvi., 137; vii., 280; a flood of light on, viii., v.
Calhoun, John C., iv., 131
Calhoun's Real Monument, iv., 131
Calhounites, the, v., 157
Calhous, Pete, stage-driver, viii., 29
California Vigilance Committee, x., 24
Callahan, Pete, stage driver, iv., 24
Calwin, x., 59
Cambria, the yacht, viii., 51
Cambridge, Memorial Hall, v., 11
Camden, viii., 95
Camden ferry, iv., 224; reception room, 225; *a January night*, 227
Camden Post, The, vii., 38
Campbell Hospital, iv., 41, 48; vii., 85
Camp Nelson, vii., 218
Canada Nights, vi., 164
Canadians, young, iv., 296
Candor of science is the glory of the modern, v., 230
Cañon, through the, iv., 259
Cape Island, iv., 222
Capes Eternity and Trinity, iv., 299
Capitol by Gas-Light, The, iv., 108
Capitol, the, gorgeousness of, vii., 140
Caracalla, x., 46
Caractacus, x., 44
Carausius, x., 47
Car-coupler, A New, viii., 104
Carlyle, Thomas, iii., 59, 145; v., 211; vi., 103; vii., 11; ix., 123; estimate of, iv., 305; test of his legacy to his country, 308; "this British Hamlet from Cheyne Row," 312; question of coming to America, 313; attitude towards democracy, 314; a teacher and a prophet, 315; idea of duty being done, 317; lack of "soul-sight," 317; sneers—we answer, v., 76; on John Knox, vi., 270
Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, ix., 230
Carlyle, *Shooting Niagara*, v., 71
Carlyle from American Points of View, iv., 310
Carnegie, vii., 60
Carpenter, Edward, *Towards Democracy*, i., lxxi.

Carroll, Charles, iv., 91
Carver Hospital, iv., 62
Case from Second Bull Run, A, iv., 98
Cassivellaunus, x., 43
Caste in Scott, Tennyson, and Shakspere, v., 209
Castelar, vi., 103
Castle Garden, Battery, iv., 26, 27; vi., 186
Caswell, Charles, story of, iv., 192
Cattle Droves about Washington, iv., 80
Cavalry Camp, A, iv., 66
Cedar-Apples, iv., 151
Cedar-plums, crazy woman's love for, iv., 303
Cedar-Plums like Names, iv., 301
Celeste, vi., 189
Celts, x., 40
Cemeteries, Van Velsor and Whitman, iv., 7
Centenarian's Story, The, i., xix.
Centennial Edition of Whitman's Works, i., lxxii.
Central Park, ten thousand vehicles, iv., 243; equestrians, 244
Central Park Notes, vi., 166
Central Park Walks and Talks, iv., 242
Central Virginia in '64, vi., 173
Century, The, vii., 43
Cervantes, iv., 23; ix., 64
Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, v., 276
Chalmers, Margaret, vi., 129
Chambers, Robert, vi., 131
Chambers Street, New York, iv., 21
Champollion, iii., 42
Chance acquaintance, a, v., 5
Chancellorsville, iv., 52; vii., 255
Chancellorsville, wounded from, iv., 63; vii., 109
Channing, v., 23
Channing, Doctor and Mrs., viii., 32
Chapin, Doctor, vii., 123
"Chapparal," iii., 209
Character, a, ix., 62
Charles the First, vi., 274
Charleston, firing on flag at, iv., 28, 29
Chase, S. P., vii., 139; viii., 227
Chatham, viii., 255
Chatham Square Theatre, iv., 25
Chaucer, Geoffrey, vi., 124; vii., 23; ix., 85; notes for lecture on, 226
Cheerfulness of soldiers, iv., 82
Chef d'œuvres never weary, ix., 10
Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, iv., 230
Cheyenne, iv., 271
Chicago, vi., 214
Chicoutimi and Ha-Ha Bay, iv., 300
Child, Josiah, viii., 286
Child and the Profligate, The, vi., 60
Children of Adam, i., xxxiii., xlii., 110; shall it be admitted to literature? v., 230
Children of the Abbey, The, viii., 106
Childs, George, i., lxxxi.; v., 16; vii., 60
Chinese Embassy, viii., 226
Chivalry, what takes its place today, v., 146
Christ, v., 118; mission of, 77; Gospel of, 136
Christian Commission, iv., 98
Christianity, i., 1.
Christopher under Canvas, x., 8
Cicero, viii., 255; x., 17
Cid, The, v., 276; vi., 124
Cid Campeador, v., 292
Cinderella, vii., 50
Circus performances, vii., 56
City Hall, the New York, iv., 21
City Hall, Philadelphia, iv., 250
City of Brussels, iv., 245
City of Tokio, iv., 279

Civility too long Neglected, A, iv., 221
Civilization, *sine qua non* of, v., 188
Clapp, Henry, v., 21
Clare, Ada, v., 21
Clarke, Edward C., iv., 17
Clarke, the actor, iv., 25; vii., 52, 56; roles of, iv., 26; vi., 185
Clarke, William, i., lxxvi.
Claudius, x., 45
Clay, Cassius, vi., 114; vii., 55
Clay, Henry, iv., 21; v., 242
Clements, S. E., owned the *Long Island Patriot*, iv., 18
Cleveland, vi., 215
Clive, Arthur, i., lxx.
Clover and Hay Perfume, iv., 198
Cobb, Mrs., viii., 179
Cold Spring, Long Island, iv., 6, 9
Cole, Johnny, pilot friend of Whitman, iv., 21
Colein, William, viii., 139
Coleridge, Lord, vi., 97; vii., 23
Colfax, Vice-President, speech of, v., 52
Collect, The, iv., 4
Collect (continued), vi., 1, 3
Colored soldiers, iv., 74
Colors—A Contrast, iv., 164
Columbia, iv., 222
Columbia Hospital, iv., 62
Columbia prison, iv., 121
Columbia, Tenn., iv., 90
Colyer's, Doctor, troupe of "Model Artists," vi., 209
Come, said my Soul, changes in, x., 131
Come Up from the Fields, Father, i., lx.
Commencements, ix., 162
Commodus, x., 46
Common Earth, the Soil, The, iv., 176
Common facts mock text-books, ix., 10
Community, vision of a possible future, v., 110
Complete Poem and Prose, i., lxxv.
Complete Works, Poems and Prose, vii., 35
Comradeship uniting all nations, v., 221
Concord, Mass., interesting landmarks in, v., 24
Cone, William, iv., 90; vii., 120
Coney Island, iv., 11; viii., 58
Confucius, ix., 99; x., 9
Congregation, an insane, iv., 293
Congress, excitement in, vi., 229; debates in, viii., 200
Connecticut Case, A, iv., 50
Conscience the climax of civilization, v., 132, 133
Conscience, the primary moral influence, v., 104
Constantine the Great, x., 47
Constantius Chlorus, x., 47
Contemptuous Feeling, iv., 30
Contralto Voice, A, iv., 290
Contrasts of War, iv., 64
Convalescent Camp, iv., 77
Conversation, viii., 265
"*Convulsiveness*," iv., 135
Conway, article on Whitman, viii., 186; anecdotes of Whitman, 222
Cook, Captain, in *Custer's Last Rally*, v., 19
Cooking by loved hands, iv., 165
Cooper, James Fenimore, iv., 21; vi., 210; vii., 56
Cooper's Wood, vi., 166
Copperheads wish to recognize Confederacy, vii., 244
Corocles, x., 49
Coreopsis everywhere, iv., 269
Coriolanus, vi., 121
Corneille, ix., 82

Corruption, the, x., 32
Cotter's Saturday Night, The, vi.,140
Country Days and Nights, vi., 165
Couple of Old Friends, A,—A Coleridge Bit, v., 3
Coyote, iv., 271
Crab Orchard, vii., 223
Cranberry Street, Brooklyn, Whitman lived in, iv., 17
Crawford, Captain, vii., 230
Credulity helps enjoyment of out-of-door things, v., 12
Creole-Paumanacker, a native of Long Island, iv., 13
Crescent, The, in New Orleans, i., xxxiv.; vi., 212
Critic, The New York, v., 48; vii., 23
Cromlechs, x., 50
Cromwell, vi., 274, 277; vii., 37
Crosby, Eugene, iv., 224
Crossing from Jersey City, 5 to 6 P.M., vii., 33
Crows and Crows, iv., 165
Crows by Camden ferry, iv., 225
Cruel treatment of L. H., vii., 85
Crusades, influence of, v., 158
Crystal City, vi., 168
Culpepper, iv., 81; vi., 174; vii., 114, 230, 254
Culture, the word of the modern, v. 100; the best, 101; America must promulgate her own standard of, 111
Cunningham, Mr., vi., 129
Cunningham, Oscar, vii., 255, 257, 260, 268, 269, 274
Curtis, George William, i., lxxiii.; note on a lecture by, x., 8
Cushman, Charlotte, iv., 26; vi., 185; vii., 50
Custer's Last Rally, v., 18
Cutter, Charles, vi., 231; vii., 265, 268, 269, 272

D

Daily Eagle, iv., 27
"Dandies, dollars, and dry-goods," iv., 233
Dangers of conventional attitude towards sexual matters, v., 231
Dangers threatening America, v., 284
Dante, iii., 55; v., 118
Dante's *Inferno*, v., 292; x., 11
Dante's *Inferno* and *Paradiso*, ix., 91
Danville prison, iv., 121
Dartmouth College, viii., 85
Darwin, iv., 322; v., 278
Darwinism—(Then Furthermore), v., 278
Dauntless, the yacht, viii., 51
Davenport, viii., 62
Davis, Hon. Thomas, visit to, viii., 30, 32
Davis, Jim, viii., 159
Dawn, The, iv., 213
Day, a satisfactory, v., 20
Days at J. B.'s—Turf-Fires—Spring Songs, iv., 234
Dean, Charles, vii., 97
Death-Banquet, A, vii., 18
Death, in battle preferable to lingering illness, vi., 231; a happy, vii., 19; on operating-table, 154
Death in the School-Room (A fact), vi., 5
Death of Abraham Lincoln, v., 239
Death of a Hero, iv., 88
Death of Longfellow, v., 30
Death of a Pennsylvania Soldier, iv., 122
Death of President Lincoln, iv., 118
Death of Thomas Carlyle, iv., 305
Death of William Cullen Bryant, iv., 202
Death of a Wisconsin Officer, iv., 75

Death of Whitman's mother, vii., 64
Deaths (the grand) of a race, its important inheritance, v., 254
Debevoise, Lieutenant-Colonel, vii., 97
Deck-hand, a modest, iv., 250, 251
Declamation, viii., 258
Dedication, a, iv., 221
Dee, Patsey, stage driver, iv., 24
Deer-Creek, iv., 260
Delaware River, iv., 4
Delaware River—Days and Nights, iv., 222
Delicious song-episode, a, iv., 153
Deluge, The, x., 9
Democracy in the New World, v., 286
Democracy, *Leaves of Grass* a species of Bible to modern, i., l.; retarded by powerful personalities, iii., 60; American, v., 43; and America convertible terms, 51; must have its own forms of art, 53; to succeed must have firm hold in man's heart, 58; should prove man may become a law unto himself, 69; only fit trainer for the million, 78; is law not riot, 79; religious element the core of, 80; bides its time, 90; Shakspere poisonous to idea of pride of, 91; fruition of, in the future, 92; in embryo condition, 96; younger brother of nature, 97; its *sine qua non*, 142; its needs, 143; stability of experiment, 157; has no representative in highest walks of art, 219; permanently established, 286; the developed dangers of, 286; Canon Kingsley on, 287; lectures on, x., 32
Democratic nominating conventions composed of dangerous materials, v., 152
Democratic Review, i., xxiv.; v., 47; vi., 15
Democratic Vistas, v., 49; vi., 198; vii., 9; x., 108
Democratic Vistas, Preface to, ix., 15
Demosthenes, vi., 112; viii., 255; x., 17
Dempster, vii., 53
Dent, Gen., viii., 242
Denver Impressions, iv., 264
Denver, in love with, iv., 266
Denver to Leadville *via* Platte Cañon, iv., 258
Denver streets, iv., 265
Departing on the Big Steamers, iv., 245
Department of the Interior, vi., 158
Description of army hospitals in Washington, iv., 77, 78
Deserted House, The, vi., 143
Deserters, iv., 93
Despondency, vi., 141
Devoted army surgeons, iv., 99
Dialogue on conventionality, v., 270
Dickens, Charles, vi., 97, 110; ix., 230; visit to United States, iv., 21
Diderot, Denis, ix., 226, 228
Difficulty of finding friends in hospitals, iv., 81
Dignity, individual personal, v., 69
Dikeman, John, iv., 19
Diocletian, x., 47
Dipper, change in constellation of, v., 36
Discovery of Old Age, A, v., 21
D'Israeli's remark on poets, ix., 69
Distant Sounds, iv., 181
Doctrine, a new, ix., 38

Dole, Indian Commissioner, vi., 159
Dome-rock, iv., 258
Domestic life in Long Island early in 19th century, description of, iv., 11, 12
Donaldson, Thomas, i., lxxvi.
Donau, iv., 246
Donizetti, iv., 26
Don Pasquale, iv., 27
Dough-Face Song, A, v., 48
Douglas, Fred, vii., 55
Douglas Hospital, iv., 132; vi., 236
Dowden, Edward, i., lxxii.
Dowden's *The Poetry of Democracy*, i., lxvii.
Down at the Front, iv., 38, 81
Downing, Coe, iv., 18
Doyle, Peter, i., lxix.; iv., 133; note to, vi., 221; Traubel's interview with, viii., 3; Whitman's letters to, 40 *et seq.*
Draft riot in New York, vii., 175, 183
Drake, Theo. A., vii., 138
Drama in America on a par with confectionery, v., 128
Dream-trance, a, iv., 198
Dressmaker, stage-driver, iv., 24
Drinkard, Doctor, vii., 65; viii., 102
Druids, the, v., 224; x., 45, 49, 54; precepts of, x., 50; had written language, x., 54
Drum-Taps, i., lx., lxiii.; vii., 77, 142, 235; viii., 21; x., 101, 112
Drum-Taps, manuscript of, lost, viii., 13
Dryden, vii., 23; ix., 86, 222; x., 8; sharp tempered, ix., 127
Dubarry, Mr., viii., 91, 104
Dubois, Col. Jesse K., vi., 219
Duflon, Mr., iv., 19
Dumfries, vi., 138
Dunlop, Mrs., vi., 129
Dutch Netherlands, x., 12
Dumas, Alexander, viii., 11
Dumb Kate, vi., 85
Dumont, Walter, a hero, iv., 237; driving oxen, 237
Duncan, Doctor, viii., 98
Dye, Amos, viii., 62

E

Eadbald, x., 60
Eagle in a storm, iv., 239
Eagle-Tail, iv., 271
Early Summer Reveille, An, iv., 145
Earth's Most Important Stream, iv., 273
Earth's Word, the, ix., 141
East, The, iv., 213
East, the, source of all impurity, v., 236; old man is always the grand figure in, vi., 107
Economic organization, v., 284
Edda of Suorro, v., 136
Eddas, vi., 124
Edgar Poe's Significance, iv., 214
Edmunds, Mr., viii., 91
Edward Gray, vi., 146
Edwin, a balladist, vii., 53
Edwin Forrest, iv., 222
Egan, Maurice F., on De Guerin, v., 15
Egotistical "Find," An, iv., 259
Egypt, v., 296
Egyptian antiquities, i., xxix.
"Egyptian Collection," vii., 53
Eidólons, The, rejected, vii., 42
"Ein' feste Burg," iv., 290
Eldridge, i., lxiv.; iv., 83; vii., 210; viii., 98, 100, 102, 109, 111, 114, 116, 122, 129, 135, 145, 149
Elias Hicks, Notes (such as they are), vi., 241
Elizabeth, the, lost off Hampton, iv., 14

Ella the Saxon, x., 58
Elliot, John, vii., 154
Ellis, Havelock, *The New Spirit*, i., lxxi.
Ellis's *Early English Metrical Romances*, v., 56
Ellsworth County, story of an informal court, iv., 257
Elocution, viii., 258
Eloquence, viii., 259
Eloquence cultivated by Celts, x., 55
Emerson family, v., 24
Emersonianism, best part of, v., 270
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, i., l., lxxix., xcv.; iii., 59; iv., 248; vi., 99, 138, 261; vii., 21, 24, 55; viii., 223; x., 103, 105; greeting to Whitman, i., liii.; x., 106; Whitman's tribute to, v., 8; "poetry is the only verity," 13; his true test of civilization, 13; an evening with, 23; dinner with, 24; discussion with, as to *Children of Adam*, 26; x., 110; death of, v., 37; his vehement arguments against portions of *Leaves of Grass*, 234; considered from democratic point of view, 266; defects in his books, 266; his work like a choice statuette, 266; lacks real freedom, 266; as diagnoser, 267; not eminent as poet or teacher, 267; helpful to youth rather than old age, 267; sees all sides, 267; dandified theory of manners, 268; does he appreciate highest poetry? 269; has gentleman's admiration for power, 269; his writings mean something, ix., 159
Emerson's Books (*the Shadows of Them*), v., 265
Eminent visitors, cannot "see America," vi., 98; welcome to, 97
Emory Hospital, vii., 97
Employer and employee, ix., 188
Engineer's Obituary, An, vii., 47
Engineering Record, The, vii., 47
England, a great land in political freedom, v., 276; moral and political agitation in, vi., 274
English masses, the, ix., 58
English paper, favorable notice in, viii., 224
Entering a Long Farm-Lane, iv., 144
Epictetus, vi., 112; on eating, v., 13
Epistle to John Rankine, The, vi., 141
Eric, x., 58
Erie, Lake, vi., 215
Ernani, iv., 26; viii., 195
Eschylus, iii., 55; v., 117, 141, 208, 244, 255; vi., 137; ix., 99; x., 16
Esopus, iv., 204, 238
Eternity, Cape, iv., 299
Ethelbert, laws of, x., 59
Étoile du Nord, L', iv., 26
Etymology, x., 5
Euripides, ix., 99; lines from, v., 13
Europe, governments of, wish United States dismembered, iv., 110; polluted by the unclean Turk, v., 235; mementoes in, 295; rivers of, ix., 217; geographical statistics of, 218
Evans, Rob., viii., 111, 113
Evarts, W. M., viii., 223, 229, 233, 236, 237
Evening-Post, The, iv., 37; v., 48
Evening Star, v., 247
Everett, Edward, vi., 114
Evolution, theory of, a counterpoise to superstitions, v., 278, 279

Exposition Building—New City Hall—River Trip, iv., 249
Exposition in New York, 1853, vii., 32
Ezekiel, x., 53

F

Fairfax Court House, vii., 253
Fairfax Seminary, iv., 77
Fairplay Flume, The, vi., 154
Fairy Queen, ix., 78
Faith in Nature's purpose, iii., 63
Faith must be restored, v., 142
Faith seared away by science, v., 141
Falmouth, Va., iv., 38; vii., 114
Farragut, Admiral, funeral of, viii., 65
Farringford, vi., 147
Farwell, Reuben, iv., 134
Fashionable life, aims in, v., 62
Fatal Curiosity, vi., 189
Father, death of Whitman's, iv., 27
Father, Whitman's stormy scenes with his, i., xvi.
Father Taylor (and Oratory), vi., 110
Faust, iv., 26
Favorita, La, iv., 26
Fazio, iv., 25
Fearful suffering in Southern prison, iv., 92
February Days, iv., 193
Feeling Fairly, vii., 40
Fellows, Colonel, Paine's "most intimate chum," iv., 168
Female Nurses for Soldiers, iv., 104
Fernando in *Favorita*, vi., 186
Ferrero, Brig.-Gen. Edward, vii., 129, 145, 160, 249
Ferry friends, iv., 224
Feudalism in Europe like slavery in the South, v., 207
Feudalism of British Islands illustrated by Shakspere, v., 207
Fichte, ix., 178
Fifth Avenue, New York, from an omnibus, iv., 241
Fifth Avenue, New York, stage line, iv., 23
51st New York's campaigns, iv., 134
Fifty Hours Left Wounded on the Field, iv., 43
Fifty hours wounded, vii., 107
Filibuster Walker, iv., 21
Fille du Regiment, La, iv., 26
Fillmore, v., 154
Final Confessions—Literary Tests, v., 41
Fine Afternoon, 4 to 6, A, iv., 243
Finland, ix., 95
First Corps, iv., 83
First Frost, The—Mems., iv., 188
"First premises," v., 42
First Spring Day on Chestnut Street, The, iv., 230
Fish, description of some, x., 26
Fisher, actor, iv., 25; vii., 56
Fisher, Clara, iv., 25; vii., 56
Fisher, Judge, viii., 97
Fishkill hills, iv., 234
Fitch, George, ix., 134
Five Thousand Poems, vi., 182
Flag, rescuing the, vi., 229; vii., 245
Flags of different nationalities, iv., 223
Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, iv., 18
"*Flight of the Eagle, The*," i., lxx.
Florence Percy's Poems, viii., 192
Florence prison, iv., 121
"Florid with blood," etc., iv., 214
Flower in the Crannied Wall, vi., 146
Flynn, Mrs., vii., 56
Flynn, Thomas, vi., 192
Forest Hymn, A, vi., 292

Foretaste of Spring, iv., 230
Forrest, Edwin, iv., 26; vi., 185, 188; vii., 49, 56; rôles of, iv., 26
For Queen Victoria's Birthday, vi., 297
Fortnightly Review, viii., 182
For Us Two, Reader Dear, vii., 30
Foster, spirit medium, vii., 243
Foundation Stages—then Others, v., 288
Fourth Avenue stage line, iv., 23
Four years war, v., 191
Fowler, Colonel, vii., 97, 233
Fowler and Wells, i., liv; vii., 54
Fox, George (and Shakspere), vi., 273
Fox, George, vi., 242, 260, 273; conversion of, 274; contemporaries of, 275; life of, 276; in America, 278; and Shakespere, 279
Foy, Jimmy, viii., 44, 46
France's Captain, vii., 130
Franco-Norman Conquest of England, salutary results of, v., 158
Franklin, Benjamin, v., 204; vi., 129
Franklin Evans: or, The Inebriate: A Tale of the Times, i., xxiv.; viii., 262; x., 103
Franklin Evans, crudity of, i., xxv.
Frazee, Captain, iv., 224
Frazee, Hiram W., vi., 236
Fredericksburg, i., lix.; iv., 62; vii., 129, 259, 262, 267, 276; second battle of, iv., 53
Freedom, v., 297
Freedom not license, v., 297, 298
Freeman, The, i., xxxvi.
Free political institutions not enough, v., 61
Freiligrath, i., lxv.
Freischutz, Der, iv., 26
French race, size of, v., 11
French Revolution, vi., 129; a strike, 285
French's statue, "*The Minute Man*," v., 25
Friendship, Napoleon on, v., 291
"Friendship rules the world," v., 291
Friendship (the Real Article), v., 291
Friendship the root of deepest poetry, v., 222
Fritsch, Hugo, vii., 143
Fritz, viii., 56
Front Street, Brooklyn, Whitman lived in, iv., 17
Froude, vi., 97; comment on, in *London Times*, 99; dinner to, 99
Fuller, Margaret, v., 23; vii., 10; ix., 94; lost in the *Elizabeth*, iv., 14; on American literature, v., 299
Full-Starr'd Nights, iv., 178
Fulton, vi., 129
Fulton Ferry, iv., 18, 20
Fulton Street, Brooklyn, iv., 17, 18
Furman, Gabriel, iv., 18
Furthermore—a February night, iv., 216
Future, the, on what its superstructures must permanently rest, v., 150

G

Galaxy, The, viii., 185, 223, 224
Gale, Edwin, vii., 56
Galgacus, x., 46
Gallia, x., 40
Gant, iv., 51
Garfield, v., 295; vii., 226; speech in the House of Representatives, iv., 74
Garrison, vii., 55
Gates, vi., 189; vii., 56
Gates Opening, The, iv., 175

Gathering the Corn, vii., 14
Gaul, x., 54
Gay-Heartedness, vii., 29
Gazza Ladra, iv., 26
Gazzaniga, vii., 56
Geese, flock of wild, iv., 288
Genealogical Dictionary, Savage's, iv., 7
Genealogy—Van Velsor and Whitman, iv., 6
Genealogy, Whitman's, i., xiii.; Dutch and Welsh, xv.; English Quaker, xv.
General Suffrage, Elections, etc., v., 289
Genius, four sorts needed to portray Lincoln, v., 244
Genius of Liberty, statue of, vii., 247
Genteel Letter-Writer, The, vi., 130
Gentleman's Magazine, i., lxx.
Geoffrey ap Arthur, x., 39
George Barnwell, vi., 189
George Fox and Shakspere, vi., 243
Georgetown, vi., 177
Gere, Tom, pilot, iv., 21
German philosophers, lecture on, ix., 166
German poets, Mr. Held on, ix., 117
German steamers decorated, viii., 60
Gesture, Whitman's notes on, viii. 246
Gettysburg, Penn., iv., 65
Giberson, Captain, iv., 224
Gibson, Captain, ix., 54
Gifts—Money—Discrimination, iv., 96
Gilchrist, Annie, i., lxvi.; v., 29; vii., 8
Glass-works, a day in, vi., 168
Glencairn, vi., 133
Glimpse of War's Hell-Scenes, A, iv., 94
Glint Inside of Abraham Lincoln's Cabinet Appointments, A. One Item of Many, vi., 219
Glover, John, iv., 89
Glover, Stephen C., iv., 88
Godey, Walter, viii., 102, 116, 145
Gods, lists of, ix., 211
Goethe, iii., 6; v., 292; vi., 129, 293; his theory not suitable for United States, vii., 6; notes on, ix., 110
Gogmagog, x., 39
Golden Belt, The, iv., 257
Goldsmith, Oliver, ix., 118; x., 13
Good-bye and Hail Walt Whitman, i., lxxvi.
Good-Bye My Fancy, i., lxxv.; vi., 281, 283; vii., 60
Good-Bye My Fancy (continued), vii., 1, 3
"Good-bye my Fancy"—concluding Annex to "Leaves of Grass," vii., 71
Good-Bye my Fancy, Whitman's characteristic utterance on, vii., 72
Good Gray Poet, The, O'Connor's, i., lxi.
Goths, The, x., 40
Gounod, v., 217
Government, mission of, v., 77
Gower, ix., 85
Graham, Robert, vi., 129, 133
Grand is the Seen, changes in, x., 130
Grand Native Growth, iv., 296
Grand Review, The, iv., 126
Grandeurs of the world depend upon mentality alone, v., 13
Grant, General, v., 295; vii., 174, 237, 238, 241, 247, 251, 252, 254, 258, 263, 266, 269, 274, 277, 279; viii., 30, 237, 242; Whitman's reflections on, iv., 279, 280; de-

Grant, General—*Continued*
termined to take Richmond, vii., 247; deserves to be trusted, 250; visits an old woman, viii., 14; and Colfax, 227
Graphic, The, friendly criticism in, viii., 121
Gray, vii., 23
Grayson, Mrs., viii., 179, 191, 194, 195
Great Army of the Wounded, The, vii., 81
Great South Bay, iv., 13
Great Unrest of which we are Part, The, v., 36
Greece, v., 296; genius of, 55; only positive unity of, 59
Greek tragedies, vi., 102
Greeley, Horace, v., 23; vii., 3, 45, 241; *Hints toward Reform*, vii., 3
Griffin, vi., 116
Griffin, Gerald, *Gysippus*, vii., 56
Griffith, vi., 214
Grim revenge, iv., 95
Grisi, iv., 26; vi., 186; vii., 56
Growth—Health—Work, iv., 19
Growth of "Leaves of Grass," The, x., 101
Gude e'en to you, Kimmer, vi., 139
Guerinde, Maurice F. Egan on, v., 15
Guerrabella, vii., 151
Guess, Bill, ix., 133
Gurowski, Count, funeral of, viii., 175
Gymnasiums, viii., 269
Gysippus, vii., 56

H

Hackett, James, iv., 25; vii., 52; rôles of, vi., 186
Hadrian, x., 46
Hale, John P., vi., 114; vii., 55
Hale, Philip, i., lxxiii.
Haley, Thomas, iv., 58
Hall, Doctor, vii., 98
Hall, George, iv., 19
Halleck, Fitz-Greene, iv., 21
Hallett & Co., vii., 215
Halloween, vi., 141
Hamblin, Thomas, manager and actor, iv., 26; vi., 188; vii., 51
Hamilton, iv., 222
Hamlet, v., 277; vi., 106, 113, 122; soliloquy, ix., 75
Hampton, the *Elizabeth* lost off, iv., 14
Hand, Captain, iv., 224
Hankinson, viii., 101, 105
Hapgood, Major, vii., 133
Happiness and Raspberries, iv., 204
Happy Hour's Command, A, iv., 3; vi., 197
Hard cash comforting, iv., 96
Harewood Hospital, iv., 132; vi., 237
Harkinson, viii., 105
Harlan, i., lxi.; vi., 158, 219
Harlowe, Serg't Calvin F., shows heroism, iv., 116
Harned, Thomas B., i., lxxxv., xcvi.
Harper's Monthly, vii., 42; article in, viii., 133
Harris, C. F., vi., 182
Harris, W. T., "the Hegelian," v., 26
Harrison's Landing, vii., 277
Hart, Mrs., viii., 70
Hartshorne, William, iv., 18
Haskell, Erastus, story of, iv., 189; vii., 180
Haskell, Mr., vi., 227; vii., 219
Haskell, Mrs., viii., 199
Hassett, Tom, viii., 23, 27, 31, 46
Hatcher's Run, vi., 239
Hatteras, vii., 144
Havana Musical Troupe, iv., 26

Haven, Bishop, vi., 111
Hawthorne's grave, v., 25
Hayes's, President, western trip, iv., 280
Health, conditions of perfect, viii., 272
Health in literature, ix., 156
Health (*Old Style*), vii., 26
"Health pulls," iv., 186
Health, report of Whitman's, v., 257
Heated Term, iv., 72
Heat in Washington, vii., 179
Hebrew lyrists, v., 224
Hebrew Poets, by De Sola Mendes, vi., 105
Hegel, G. F., iv., 311; v., 119; ix., 168; x., 16; metaphysical system, iv., 319, 322
Hegel's standard for politics, iv., 321; translates theology into science, 321; invaluable contributions of, v., 136
Hegeman, Adrian, iv., 19
Heine, Heinrich, vii., 11, 70; ix., 88; his criticism of a book, vii., 71
Heldenbuch, ix., 83
Helvetia, iv., 246
Hemlocks, among the, iv., 236
Hempstead plains, iv., 15
Hempstead, the *Mexico* lost off, iv., 14
Hendrickson, vii., 182
Hengist and Horsa, x., 49
Henlopen, iv., 223
Hennessey, Patrick, vii., 97
Henry IV., vi., 121
Henry V., vi., 121
Heptarchy, the, x., 58
Herald, The, iv., 37; viii., 26
Hercules, x., 9, 55
Herder, iii., 66
Hereditaments, specimens for, v., 56
Herodotus, x., 9
"Heroic nudity," iii., 62
Herrick, Anson, vii., 272
Herring, Mrs., vi., 189
Hesiod, x., 16
Heyde, Whitman's brother-in-law, vii., 253; viii., 189, 202, 239; criticises *Leaves of Grass*, viii., 192
Hickman, Beau, viii., 101, 105
Hicks, Elias, i., xvi.; iv., 17, 295; vi., 113, 273, 280; vii., 22; youth of, vi., 245; extracts from journal of, 247; marriage of, 247; attitude towards Revolutionary War, 250; Whitman hears him preach, 256; audience of, 257; doctrine taught by, 260; oratory of, 264; death of, 266
Hicks, Elias—Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of—Written by Himself, vi., 255
Hill, Peter, vi., 129
Himilco, x., 53
Hindu epics, vi., 102, 104
Hindu poems, iii., 55
Hinkle, Doctor Frank, vii., 96
Hint of Wild Nature, A, iv., 218
Hinton, Colonel, viii., 23, 109, 111, 118, 145; answer to Conway, 222
Hints toward Reform, by Horace Greeley, vi., 3
Hiskey, iv., 224
Historians and liars, ix., 215
Historical Society, vii., 55
History, Matthew Arnold's Opinion of, v., 13
Hobbes, Thomas, of Malmesbury, sentiment of, v., 15
Hobby, a real farm-lane, Whitman's, iv., 144
"Hole-in-the-Day," vi., 159
Holmes, Edmund, i., lxxvi.

Holmes, John A., vii., 135, 169
Holy Willie's Prayer, vi., 141
Home-Made Music, iv., 68
Homer, iii., 55; iv., 23; v., 117, 141, 269, 276; vi., 124, 135; vii., 37; ix., 229; x., 9; and Shakespeare, ix., 123; translators of, 222
Homer's *Siege of Troy*, v., 245
Homeston, Lafayette, vi., 238
Homes, unhappy, viii., 266
Honorius, x., 48
Hooker, General Joseph, iv., 52, 53, 55, 57; vii., 156
Horncastle, vii., 56
Horse-Mint, iv., 200
Hospital Perplexity, iv., 81
Hospitals, army—Acquia Creek, iv., 59; Armory Square, iv., 45, 65; Campbell, 41, 48; vii., 85; Carver, iv., 62; Columbia, iv., 62; Douglass, iv., 132; Emory, vii., 97; Harewood, iv., 132; vi., 237; Judiciary Square, vii., 98; Mt. Pleasant, iv., 62; Patent Office, iv., 46; vii., 84; Quarter-Master's, viii., 177; missionary work in army, vii., 81; plans of army, 82; a city in itself, 91; note-book, 94; a sketch of visits to, 101; visiting, requires judgment, 113; patients kept too long in camp, 114; in Washington, 115; military, near New York City and Brooklyn, 122; Christmas dinner at a, viii., 193; cases of delirium tremens in, 215
Hospital Scenes and Persons, iv., 44
Hospital Scenes—Incidents, iv., 89
Hospitals Closing, iv., 132
Hospitals' Ensemble, iv., 77
Hospital Visits, vii., 101
Hotten, viii., 224
Hot Weather, New York, v., 16
Hour on Kenosha Summit, An, iv., 258
Hours for the Soul, iv., 211
House of Representatives, startled by storm, iv., 114; at night, vii., 247
Houston Street, New York, iv., 22
Howard, vii., 222
Howell, Mr., vii., 149
Hudson River Railroad, iv., 238
Hudson River—shad-fishing, iv., 238
Hudson River Sights, iv., 238
Hugo, Victor, iii., 59; v., 211, 232, 292; vi., 103, 132; vii., 46; makes a donkey meditate, v., 14; American slander of, 282
Huguenots, The, iv., 26
Human and Heroic in New York, iv., 209
Human form standard of all beauty, v., 236
Human qualities of a great city, iv., 210
Human race, its best intuitions yet to be developed, v., 238
Hume, ix., 222
Humphreys, James, viii., 200
Hunter, William, viii., 200
Huntington, Long Island, Whitman family established at, iv., 6, 7, 20; Whitman publishes weekly paper in, 20
Huntington, Mr., viii., 82
Hunt, Leigh, ix., 222; criticised his own poems, ix., 119
Huron, Lake, iv., 296; vi., 214
Hurt, Henry, viii., 27, 53, 64
Hutchinson band, vii., 52
Hutchinsons, the, vii., 55
Huxley, Professor, in a late lecture, v., 15

I

Ice cream treat, iv., 90; vii., 120, 272
Ideas of the unknown legitimate heirs of the known, v., 137
Idylls of the King, The, v., 210; vi., 146
Iliad, The, vi., 102, 104, 106; Buckley's prose edition of, iii., 55
Iliad and the Odyssey, The, vi., 136
Illinois River, vi., 212
Illustrated London News, ix., 75
Imaginative to form a trinity with scientific and political New Worlds, v., 189
Impeachment trial, viii., 221, 223
Imperial destinies, charts of, v., 144
Imperial success, the cost of it, v., 145
Importance, only real, v., 65
Inauguration, The, iv., 109
Inauguration Ball, iv., 114
Incident, an, iv., 90
Independence, what is it? v., 125
Index of First Lines, iii., 69
India, v., 296
Indian Bureau, vii., 45
Indian Bureau Reminiscence, An, vi., 158
Indian Chiefs, visit from, vi., 158, 159
Indians, essential traits of, vi., 161; letter from artist about, vi., 162
Indian Summer, x., 17
Indian Vedas, v., 136
Individualism, virtue of modern, v., 67
Individuality blended with universality, vi., 106
Individuality, native American sure to come, iii., 59
Individuality, theory of, x., 18
Inferno, v., 292; vi., 124; ix., 91
Influences which stamp the world's history, v., 56
Ingersoll, Robert, G. impromptu speech of, i., lxxxviii.; *speech at the celebration of Whitman's birthday*, vii., 38; his appearance, 39; oratory of, 39
Ingersoll and Whitman on immortality, vii., 40
Ingersoll, *Liberty in Literature*, i., lxxi.
Ingersoll's Speech, vii., 38
Ingram, viii., 97
Inhabitants, The—Good Living, iv., 301
In Memoriam, vi., 106
In Memory of Thomas Paine, iv., 168
In Re Walt Whitman, i., lxxvi.
Insane asylum, "Refractory building," iv., 295
Insanity, ix., 62
Inscription for a Little Book on Giordano Bruno, vii., 24
Inscriptions, the, x., 101
Inspiration from Western scenery, iv., 263
Inspiring subjects for American poets, v., 220
Intellect of man the last appellate court, v., 202
Intemperance, causes of, viii., 262
Interregnum Paragraph, An, iv.,142
Interviewer's Item, An, iv., 277
"*Intestinal Agitation*," vii., 35
In the Sleeper, iv., 252
Introduction, by literary executors, i., xiii.
Intuitional sense in humanity, v., 142
Ireland, x., 40
Iron Chest, The, vi., 188
Iron Works, ix., 135
Irving, Henry, vi., 97

Irving, rebel soldier, iv., 89; vii., 120
Irwin, Frank H., death of, iv., 122
Isaiah, vi., 137
Isolated words in note-book, ix., 207; x., 10
Italian Wife, The, vii., 51
Items from My Note Books, iv., 98
I Turn South—and then East again, iv., 267

J

Jack, Broadway, stage-driver, iv., 24
Jackson, Andrew, iv., 21; v., 242
Jackson, Helen Hunt, x., 104
Jackson, Stonewall, iv., 53
Janacone, i., lxxxi.
Japanese Ambassadors, the first to United States, iv., 21
Japhetic stock, ix., 53
Jaunting to Canada, iv., 292
Jaunt up the Hudson, iv., 204
Jefferson's verdict on the Waverly novels, v., 209
Jenkin's (Fleeming) article on Mrs. Siddons, vi., 184
Jersey Blue, iv., 222
Jewry, sacred bards of, v., 141
Jimplecute, The, vi., 155
Job, x., 9
John Barleycorn, vi., 139
"Johnny Bouquet's" letter, iv., 122
Johnson, Andrew, v., 295
Johnson, Arnold, chief clerk of Light House Board, viii., 141
Johnson, Gen. Jeremiah, iv., 18
Johnson, President, feeling against, viii., 196
Johnson, Rev. E. M., iv., 18
Johnson, Samuel, notes on, ix., 124
Johnson Street, Brooklyn, Whitman lived in, iv., 17
Johnston, Colonel, viii., 117
Johnston, Dr. John, *Notes of a visit to Walt Whitman*, i., lxxi.
Johnston, Mr. and Mrs. J. H., iv., 233; viii., 288
Jonathan Bradford, or the Murder at the Roadside, vi., 189
Jones, George, "Count Joannes," vi., 188; vii., 56
Jones, Paul, ix., 137
Jonson, Ben, ix., 74; 89; x., 8
Joralemon, Mr., iv., 19
Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, stone church near, iv., 18
Joshua, vii., 37
Journalism, i., lx.
Joy in Sherman's army, iv., 119
Judaism, i., l.
Judiciary Square Hospital badly managed, vii., 98
Julius Cæsar, viii., 62
July Afternoon by the Pond, A, iv., 154
July on the Pond, ix., 14
Juvenal, v., 117, 141, 224; x., 56

K

Kalbfleisch, vii., 226, 272
Kansas State Silver Wedding, iv., 255
Kant, Immanuel, iii., 50; iv., 313, 319, 320; v., 119; vi., 129; ix., 174; invaluable contributions of, v., 36
Katydids' "piquant utterances," iv., 156
Kean, Charles, iv., 25; vi., 187, 189; vii., 51
Keats, John, vi., 289; vii., 23; ix., 84; poetry of, ix., 120
Kemble, Fanny, iv., 25; vi., 185; vii., 22, 49, 51; rôles of, iv., 25

Kenilworth, viii., 46
Kennedy, William Sloane, i., xv., lxxvi.
Kennedy's *In Re Walt Whitman*, i., xxi.
Kenosha summit, iv., 261
Kentucky men in Union army, iv., 74
Kephart, Andrew J., viii., 205, 207, 211, 213
Kilpatrick, vi., 171; cavalry of, vi., 226; vii., 213
Kind treatment of Union soldier by Southerner, iv., 43
King, Allen V., vii., 97
King John, vi., 121; vii., 51
King Lear, vi., 121
King, Preston, vii., 139, 140
King, Thomas, extreme unction for, vi., 238
Kingfishers, iv., 152; at play, 201; Whitman's old friends, the, v., 3
Kings County, iv., 11
Kingsley, Canon, on democracy, v., 287
Kirby, vii., 56
Kirkwood, vii., 160, 252; viii., 216
Kissam, vii., 122
Kit Carson, iv., 271
Knickerbocker stage line, the, iv., 23
Knortz, Karl, i., lxxv.
Knortz, Karl, *Walt Whitman—Ein Vortrag*, i., lxxi.
Knowles, Sheridan, iv., 25
Knox, John, Carlyle on, vi., 270
Knoxville, Tenn., vii., 196, 240
Koran of Mohammed, v., 136
Kossabone, Dutch, i., xiv.
Kossabone, Mary, i., xiv., xxi.
Kossuth, Louis, v., 242; vi., 293; visit to the United States, iv., 21

L

Laborde, vii., 56
Labor question, increasing seriousness of its problem, v., 144
Lacks and Wants Get, v., 292
Ladrone Islanders, ix., 54
Lady Audley's Secret, viii., 186
Lady of Shalott, The, vi., 146
Lafayette, kissed Whitman, iv., 17; vii., 42; his visit to United States in 1824, iv., 17; lays corner-stone of public library in Brooklyn, iv., 17; appearance of, vii., 42
Lafontaine, ix., 109
Lally, Michael, vii., 97
Lane, Mr., vii., 153, 160, 176
Langland's *Piers Plowman*, x., 102
Language, The English, v., 183; vi., 149; made by the masses, vi., 151
La Salle, vi., 213
Last Collective Compaction, The, v., 301
Last Days of Pompeii, The, vi., 189.
Last Loyalist, The, vi., 28
Last May a braw Wooer, vi., 139
Last of the War Cases, vi., 224
Last Saved Items, vii., 68
Laurel Station, vii., 177
Laurentius, x., 60
Law and the Prophets, i., 1.
Law, Fugitive Slave, vi., 1–77
Law of Whitman's poems, iv., 259
Law the unshakable order of the universe, v., 79
Lawrence and Topeka, Kansas, iv., 254
Leaves for the Sick, x., 17
Leaves of Grass, i., 1
Leaves of Grass, i., xlii., xciv.; iii., 62; iv., 5, 14, 24; vi., 158, 198; vii., 30, 38, 40, 42, 64, 142; viii., 21, 29, 182, 189, *et seq.*, 261, 273,

Leaves of Grass—Continued
275, 280, *et seq.;* ix., 14; x., 101; published, i., xxxvi.; analysis of, xxxvii.; analogous to *Faust*, xliv.; a species of Bible to modern democracy, l.; small sale of second edition, liv.; third edition, lvii.; unauthorized editions, lviii.; fourth edition published, lxiii.; fifth edition, lxvii.; pocket-book edition, lxxv.; in Dutch, lxxvi.; Whitman's *carte de visite* to posterity, iii., 42; conventional themes abandoned in, 45; the legitimate outcome of the past, 54; the outcome of experiences in the *Secession War*, 57; point-characteristics in, 58; the song of Sex and Amativeness, 61; an attempt to put a *Person* on record, 65; goes to press, iv., 27; last touches, v., 17; shall it be admitted to literature, 230; true key to, 234; Whitman's reason for insisting on verses objected to, 234; endorsement of translation into Russian, 259; Whitman did not consider the public when writing, vii., 25; some names of English people who bought, 58; success of, in England, 58; Whitman's characteristic utterance on, 71; opposition to, viii., 30; like a Cathedral, x., 101; the development of the poem, 101; Whitman's account of seventh edition of, 119; *Growth of*, 101; *Unique Composition, A*, 101; *Foreground, the*, 103; *His Purpose*, 106; *General Features of Development*, 110; *Method of Composition*, 121
Lectures, Whitman suggests earning money for hospital by giving, vi., 232; experiment of a lecture, vii., 33; new paragraph at beginning of lecture on Lincoln, 36; topics touched upon in, ix., 200; notes for, x., 34
Lee, General, iv., 65, 67; vii., 167, 250, 252, 257, 266, 269; surrender of, v., 246
Left-hand Writing by Soldiers, vi., 173
Left-hand writing, prize offered for, vi., 173
Le Gendre, Colonel, vii., 145, 260, 262
Leibnitz, invaluable contributions of, v., 136
Leslie, Professor, ix., 64
Lessing, ix., 155
Lessons, ix., 8
Lessons for would-be writer, ix., 39
Lessons from spring and brook, iv., 144
Lesson of a Tree, The, iv., 157
Letter to New York City paper, commencement of, vii., 32
Letters of 1862–3, vii., 128
Letters of 1864, vii., 224
Letters of 1868, viii., 21
Letters of 1869, viii., 40
Letters of 1870, viii., 48
Letters of 1871, viii., 69
Letters of 1872, viii., 76
Letters of 1874, viii., 129
Letters of 1875, viii., 152
Letters Written by Walt Whitman to His Mother, from 1866 to 1872, viii., 169
Liberalism, true hold of, in United States, v., 82
Liberalist seeks to universalize, v., 81
Liberty will be paramount, v., 219
Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers, vii., 91

Life only an experiment, v., 185
Light and shade, iv., 196
Light-ship *Long Shoal*, iv., 91
Lincoln, Abraham, v., 71, 295; vi., 202; vii., 37, 45, 248, 250; death of, iv., 37; daily routine, 70; his Unionism, 118; fall of, 120; "The best, the fairest, the truest man in America," 128; essentially a Southern contribution, v., 240; Whitman's first sight of, 241; met by silence, 242; appearance of, 243; first inauguration, 244; fondness for the theatre, 247; death identified with absolute extirpation of slavery, 255; an anecdote of, 297; his unshaken faith in permanency of the Union, 297; an appreciation of, vi., 202; characteristic likeness of, 203; compared with Washington and Franklin, 204; no portrait of him a good likeness, 204; what would America have been without him? 204; foundations of his character, 205; the grandest figure of the 19th century, 207; care-worn, vii., 171; has done as well as possible, 221
Lincoln, assassination of, v., 248; viii., 8; facts of murder, v., 246; scene at the theatre, April 14th, 248; Booth jumps from box, 249; "Sic semper tyrannis," 249; Mrs. Lincoln cries out, 250; agitation in theatre after murder, 250; President's guard arrives, 250; attempted lynching of innocent man, 251; indirect results of the tragedy, 252
Lincoln Reminiscence, A, v., 296
Lindell, iv., 224
Lind, Jenny, iv., 27; vii., 53, 56
Lindley, Thomas, iv., 61
Lingering Note, A, on religion, vi., 271
Lingrave's Temptation, vi., 73
Linton, Mr., viii., 118
Lion—Doom'd, vi., 189
Lippincott's Magazine, vii., 71
List of birds, iv., 177
List of Certain Magazine and Newspaper Articles Studied and Preserved by Walt Whitman and Found in His Scrapbooks and among His Papers, x., 63
Literary executors, i., xcvi.
Literature, ancient, ix., 102
Literature, English, should be thoroughly studied, v., 274; is conventional, 277; is not spiritual, 277; is sombre like Hamlet, 277
Literature, modern, profoundly sophisticated, v., 134
Literature of the past, needs to be re-written, v., 149; our real interest in, 149
Literature, penetrates all, v., 55; the only general means for morally influencing the world, 57; does not advance, 121; is Soul, 131; whence must come its inspiration, 138; what gives it the breath of life, 139; notes for an article on, ix., 197
Literatus, the future great, characteristics and aims of, v., 132
Litterateurs, aim of, v., 62
Little Jane, vi., 80
Little or Nothing New After All, v., 296
Live Oak Leaves, x., 18
Living Pictures, x., 31
Loafing in the Woods, iv., 219
Locke, John, viii., 268
Locksley Hall morbid, vi., 143
Locusts and Katydids, iv., 155

Locusts—"reedy monotones," iv., 155
London Assurance, iv., 26
London Prodigal, The, ix., 76
London Times, The, v., 52; vi., 98; vii., 24; article on United States, v., 52; article on Lowell, 214; on Joaquin Miller, 214; on American poetry, 214
Long, vii., 246
Long Branch, to, v., 14
Long Bridge at Washington, iv., 32
Longfellow, i., lxxii.; v., 214; vi., 99, 132, 183; vii., 24; a call on, v., 8; tribute to, 9; wonderful work of, 30
Longfellow—*Happiest Land*, v., 32; *Manrique*, 32; *Quadroon Girl*, 32; *Witnesses*, v., 32
Long Island, the beauties of—their effect upon Whitman, i., xxiii.; settled by Dutch and English, iv., 6; description of domestic life in, early in 19th century, 11; Indian names of, 13; description of central part of, 15
Long Islander, The, i., xxiv.
Long Island Patriot, The, Whitman enters printing office of, iv., 18
Long Island Sound, iv., 13, 21
Long Island Star, The, Whitman works on, iv., 19
Look ahead, a, v., 131
Lotos Eaters, The, vi., 146
Lovelace, *To Lucasta*, v., 269
Love Lane, Brooklyn, iv., 18
Lowell, i., lxxii.; *London Times* on, v., 214
Lowery, John, vii., 95, 135
Luce, Captain, iv., 246
Lucia, iv., 26
Lucretius, v., 142, 223; vi., 146
Lucrezia, iv., 26
Lunatic Asylum, Flatbush, vii., 123
Lycurgus, x., 17
Lyon, Fort, iv., 271

M

Macauley, S. C., i., lxxi.
Macbeth, vi., 121
MacIlvaine, i., lxxiii.
Mackinaw, vi., 215
Macready, W. C., iv., 25
Madison Avenue stage line, iv., 32
Mahabharata, vi., 106; ix., 229
Mahay, John, iv., 98; vii., 120
Malone, ix., 76
Man, a gay-hearted, vii., 29
Manassas, vii., 256
Man divine in his own right, v., 68
Mandeville's Travels, Sir John, ix., 223
Manetho, x., 9
Manhattan from the Bay, iv., 207
Manhattan Island, iv., 11; beauties of, v., 18
Manhattan, New York and Brooklyn united and named, iv., 209
Mannahatta, the old name of New York City, vii., 34
Manners, lack of, v., 66; bad, often most picturesque, 268; of French, x., 12
Manual of French Quotations, vi., 130
Man was made to mourn, vi., 141
March in the Ranks Hard-Prest, A, i., lx.
Marine Band, iv., 110; viii., 9
Marini, iv., 27; vi., 186; vii., 56
Mario, iv., 26; vi., 186; vii., 56; viii., 219
Marshall, Mr., vii., 29
Martin, John D., vii., 138
Martinez, vi., 116
Martyr Chief, v., 256

Marvin, J. B., i., lxx.
Marvin, Mr., viii., 155
Mary Powell, iv., 204
Masonic Temple, viii., 106
Mason, Julius, viii., 176
Mason's Island, camp on, vi., 177
Mason, Virginia, vi., 177
Masquerade party crossing ferry, iv., 225
Massaniello, iv., 26
Massey, Gerald, poems of, ix., 157
Materialism of the current age, v., 137
Material things must lead to ideas, v., 137
Maternal Homestead, The, iv., 9
Mature Summer Days and Nights, iv., 248
Maturin's *Bertram, or the Castle of St. Aldobrand*, vi., 189
Maximus, x., 48
May—month, iv., 147
Mazeppa, vi., 189
McClellan, stories of his campaign, iv., 73
McClure, Mrs., vii., 56
McCowell, Thos., vii., 263
McKay, i., lxxiii., lxxvi.
McKnight, Mrs., asks that she may paint Whitman's portrait, viii., 235
McLehose, Mrs. (Clarinda), vi., 129
McReady, Lieut. Fred., iv., 134; vii., 155, 214, 250, 260, 262, 268, 271
Meade, General, iv., 65, 67; vi., 171, 176; army of, vii., 115, 183, 201, 211, 213, 259, 277
Meadow Lark, A., iv., 196
"Me" and "Not me," iv., 318
Means by which the Western World is to be made a nationality, v., 52, 53
Medori, vii., 143
Meeting a Hermit, iv., 236
Meigs, General, vii., 140
Memoranda, vii., 31
Memoranda of the Secession War, vii., 77
Memorandum at a Venture, A, v., 48, 230
Memory, ix., 126
Men and women to be taken as they are, v., 174
Mendes, De Sola, *Hebrew Poets*, vi., 105
Menes 1st, x., 9
Menu, x., 8, 9
Mephistophelean sneers, v., 245
Merrie England in the Olden Time, viii., 135
Merry hae I been teething a Heckle, vi., 139
Metempsychosis, doctrine of, x., 49
Methodist interest appoints Secretary of Interior, vi., 219
Metropolitan Hotel, iv., 29
Metternich, Prince, on Napoleon, v., 16
Mexican War, vi., 209
Mexico, the, lost off Hempstead, iv., 14
Mexico's sympathy, iv., 111
Michel, Louise—at the burial of Blanqui, v., 14
Microscope, using the moral, v., 65
Midsummer Night's Dream, vii., 16
Migrations of Celts, etc., x., 42
Milburn, Doctor, viii., 53, 64
Milburn, Parker, viii., 82, 106, 123, 130, 137, 140
Milburn, Wash., viii., 57, 64, 73, 80, 91, 115, 118
Milford, Conn., iv., 6
Miller, Charles, iv., 42; vii., 106
Miller, Joaquin, iv., 276; viii., 88; *London Times* on, v., 214

Millet, J. F., two rapt hours with his pictures, v., 9; story told by pictures, 10; quotation from, 230; *The Angelus*, 11; *The Diggers*, 11; *Field-people Reposing*, 11; *The Sower*, 10; *Watering the Cow*, 10
Millet's Pictures—Last Items, v., 9
Milliken's Bend, vi., 176
Million Dead, too, Summ'd up, The, iv., 137
Millis, William H., iv., 102
Mill's, John Stuart, *Essay on Liberty*, v., 49
Milton, iii., 63; v., 219; vii., 23; ix., 74; x., 8
"Minerva, swallow-bodied," iv., 251
Minnesota, U. S. schoolship, iv., 246
Mississippi River, importance of, iv., 273; journey up the, vi., 22
Mississippi Valley Literature, iv., 275
Missouri, beauties of, iv., 253
Missouri State, iv., 253
Mistletoe, x., 55
Mitchell, vii., 56
Mithras, x., 22
Mix, Mrs., viii., 179, 181, 196, 199
Model Hospital, A, iv., 101
Modesty among American soldiers, iv., 74
Modesty, one of the most precious of attributes, v., 237
Monitor, loss of the, vii., 136
Monk, George, vii., 170
Monotony, iv., 271
Monroe, Fortress, vii., 137, 257
Montaigne, ix., 74
Montauk Point, iv., 13
Monuments—the Past and Present, v., 295
Moon, the full, iv., 215
Moore, Amer, iv., 61
Moore, Doctor, vi., 129, 130
Moral purpose underlying the growth of man, v., 140
Moral revolutions in United States, iii., 46
Moral tone in politics and business, absence of, v., 288
Morgan, John W., a Southern soldier, vi., 234
Morris Island, vi., 176
Morrison's Hotel, vi., 257
Morse, N. B., iv., 19
Morse, Sidney, i., lxxi.
Mortality in Southern prisons, iv., 122
Moseby's guerillas, brutality of, iv., 94
Moses, vii., 37; x., 9
Most Inspirlting of all War's Shows, The, iv., 63
Motherhood, perfect, v., 66
Mothers precede all, x., 24
Mott Haven, v., 17
Mountain streams, iv., 263
Mt. Pleasant Hospital, iv., 62
Muir, Robert, vi., 129
Mulleins and Mulleins, iv., 180
Mullen, Captain, vii., 144
Muller, Captain, vii., 148
Mullin, v., 21
Mulvany's, John, *Custer's Last Rally*, appreciation of, v., 18
Murdock, Baley, viii., 64
Murphy, Jenny, viii., 57
Muse of the Prairies, v., 272
Music born sister of Poetry, v., 216
My First Reading—Lafayette, iv., 17
My Native Sand and Salt Once More, v., 13
My Passion for Ferries, iv., 20
My Preparations for Visits, iv., 62
My Tribute to Four Poets, v., 8

N

Naçkas of Zoroaster, v., 136
Names among the Indians, vi., 156
Names in the West—extraordinary ones, vi., 156
Names, rejected, iv., 304, 305
Napoleon, vi., 129; his marvellous insight into human nature, v., 16; at St. Helena, 253; on friendship, 291
Napoleon, Louis, Whitman's opinion of, viii., 60
Nash, Mr. and Mrs., viii., 53, 57, 64, 80, 97, 115, 124, 138, 147, 160
National capital will be moved, v., 84
National development, success depends upon spiritualization, v., 147
Nationality (and Yet), v., 262
National Literature, what forms it, vii., 4; the tap-root of, 5, 9
National Uprising and Volunteering, iv., 29
Nature and Democracy—Morality, v., 43
Nature is rude, ix., 10
Nature-notes of 1877–81, iv., 3
Nature remains, iv., 143
Nature the only complete actual poem, v., 140
Nature, the quality of Being is the lesson of, v., 98; the true idea of, 135
Nature's cures, iv., 183
Navesink, highlands of, iv., 207
Neat, Thomas, vi., 226; vii., 219
Negro minstrels, vii., 53
Negro Slaves in New York, vi., 164
Nelly White, iv., 222
New Army Organization fit for America, A, iv., 87
New clothes, vii., 157
New military theory needed by United States, iv., 87
New Orleans in 1848, vi., 208
New Orleans, immediately after Mexican War, vi., 209; French market in, 210; scenes on levees, 211
New Quarterly Magazine, i., lxx.
New Senses: New Joys, iv., 259
Newspaper experiences, v., 33; *Long Island Patriot, The*, 33; Morris, George P., 33; *Mirror, The*, 33; *Long Islander, The*, serving the paper, 34; *Tattler, The*, 35; *Aurora, The*, 35; *Brooklyn Eagle, The*, 35; *Crescent, The*, New Orleans, 35; *Freeman, The*, Brooklyn, 35; *Armory Square Gazette*, 36; *Jimplecute, The*, 36
Newspapers, the daily, v., 120
New Themes Enter'd upon, iv., 143
Newton, Sir Isaac, viii., 268
New Way to Pay Old Debts, A, vi., 188
New World, The, i., xxiv.; x., 104
New World Democracy, the, a complete failure in social aspects, v. 63
New World, the, problem of, v., 102; literature that of the past, 115; three stages of, 123; its work but only fairly begun, 149; the, its true growth, characteristics, 195
New York Bay, Whitman's trips on pilot boats in, iv., 16
New York—the Bay—the Old Name, vii., 32
New York City, iv., 5, 7; well situated for hot weather, v., 17; splendor of, 64

New York, famous opera singers of old, iv., 26
New York, old stage lines of, iv.,23
New York Soldier, A, iv., 67
New York Tabernacle, vii., 54
New York, theatres of old, iv., 24
New York Times, The, i., lx.; iv., 37; vii., 90, 127, 182; viii., 189
Niagara Falls, i., xxxv.; iv., 272
Nibelungenlied, iii., 55; v., 292; vi., 124; ix., 83, 117, 187
Nick-names during the Secession War, vi., 153
Night Battle over a Week Since, A, iv., 53
Night by the pond, iv., 220
Night Remembrance, A, iv., 219
Nights on the Mississippi, iv., 212
Nilsson, viii., 80
Nineteenth Century, The, i., lxxi.; iii., 62; vi., 184
Noblesse oblige, vii., 7
No Good Portrait of Lincoln, iv., 120
North American Review, The, v., 48; vii., 3
Northern cruelty in shooting down wounded, iv., 90
Northern Farmer, The, vi., 146
Notes and Fragments, by Doctor Bucke, i., lxxvi.
Notes and Fragments left by Walt Whitman, x., 1
Notes of the Meaning and Intention of Leaves of Grass, ix., 3
Notes on English History, x., 39
Notes (such as they are) founded on Elias Hicks, vi., 241
Notes to Late English Books, vi., 196
Note to a Friend, vi., 221
Note Yet, A. The United States of To-Day, vi., 270
November Boughs, i., lxxiv.; vi., 95, 97; vii., 22, 35, 60, 65; titles considered for, x., 36
November 8, '76, iv., 164
Noyes, viii., 26, 91, 161
Nude, the, familiarity with, would prevent abuses in dress, v., 236; in French art, 137; in art, necessary for future of English art and morality, 236; in art, unholy origin of objection to, 235
Nurses, middle-aged women the best, vii., 123

O

Oaks and I, The, iv., 185
O'Brien, v., 21
Obscurity, comments on the charge of, v., 202
O'Connor, William Douglass, i., lxiv., lxxiii.; iii., 43; v., 29; vi., 130, 289; vii., 60, 134, 163, 179, 190, 205, 210, 220, 256; viii., 30, 58, 98, 141, 188, 190, 194, 204, 209, 214, 224, 226, 228, 231, 236; on Shakspere, vi., 122; Whitman's tribute to, vii., 43
O'Connor's *Good Gray Poet*, vii., 77
O'Connor's *Harrington*, vii., 44
O'Connor's *The Carpenter*, i., lxiv.
Odell, vii., 226
Odyssey, Aristotle on the, v., 12
Odyssey, facsimile of notes on the, v., 12
Odyssey, Grote's comment on the, v., 12
O, for one and twenty, Tam, vi., 139
O lay thy loof in mine, lass, vi., 139
Old Actors, Singers, Shows, etc., in New York, vii., 49
Old Age Echoes in *Leaves of Grass*, i., lxxvi.
Old Bowery, The, vi., 184
Old Brooklyn Days, vii., 41
Old Elephant, stage driver, iv., 24

Older women best nurses, iv., 104
Oldfield, Colonel, v., 237
Old Grimes is Dead, vi., 182
Old Hindu Poem, iv., 163
Old Man's Rejoinder, An, vi., 283
Old Poets, vi., 289
Old Whitman and Van Velsor Cemeteries, The, iv., 7
Olive, Captain, iv., 224
Olympic Theatre, vii., 53
Omar Khayyam, vi., 261
Omnibus Jaunts and Drivers, iv., 23
195th Pennsylvania, The, vi., 173
One of the Human Kinks, iv., 174
One or Two Index Items, v., 47
One Wicked Impulse, vi., 15
Only a New Ferry Boat, v., 29
On, on, ye jocund twain rejected, vii., 43
On to Denver—A Frontier Incident, iv., 257
Opening of the Secession War, iv., 28
Opera singers, famous, of Old New York, iv., 24, 26, 27
Operas, Italian, iv., 26
Operation, an, viii., 204
Orange parade, viii., 71
Orange Street, Brooklyn, iv., 17
Oration, rule for commencement of, viii., 250; styles for different sections of United States, 251
Orator, attractions about a master, viii., 253
Oratory, vi., 113; ix., 143
Oratory, naturalism in, viii., 258
Oratory, revolution needed in American, viii., 257
"Oratory," Whitman's notes on, viii., 245
O'Reilly, John Boyle, viii., 276
Orient Point, iv., 13
Origination of metre, ix., 36
Origin from God, claims of, v., 278
Origins of Attempted Secession, v., 151
Origins, problem of, not solved, v., 279
Orphic hymns, x., 13
Osgood & Co., James R., i., lxxiii.; viii., 275; threatened with prosecution by Massachusetts District Attorney, Oliver Stevens, i., lxxiii.; negotiations in regard to publishing *Leaves of Grass*, viii., 275 *et seq.*
Osler, Doctor, vii., 34
Osler, Thomas, viii., 109, 112, 113, 115
Osortasen, x., 9
Ossian, iii., 55; vi., 124; ix., 94
Ossianic night, a typical, v., 27
Ossianic Night, A—Dearest Friends, v., 27
Ossian to Thoreau, from, ix., 227
Ostorius, x., 45
Othello, vi., 122
Other Concord Notations, v., 25
Our American Cousin, v., 248
Our Eminent Visitors, Past, Present, and Future, vi., 97
Our Real Culmination, v., 299
Outdoors the best antiseptic, ix., 151
Out in the Open Again, vii., 66
Out of doors in winter, iv., 193
O wert thou in the cauld, cauld blast, vi., 139

P

Paine, Thomas, i., xvi.; iv., 168; character of, 170; death of, 171; service to Union, 171
Paine, Thomas, Whitman's speech on, iv., 168
Paleologus, v., 253
Palisades on Hudson River, iv., 204, 208

Pall Mall Gazette, vii., 35
Palmyra, x., 53
Pampas and Llanos of South America, iv., 274
"Pandect," x., 53
Papers for the Times, i., lxx.
Parades cause death from sunstroke, iv., 130
Paradise Lost nonsense to us, ix., 97
Pardons, Southerners seeking, vi., 217
Pardon warrants, vi., 218
Parentage should be a science, v., 103
Parenthesis, A, vii., 31
Parepa Rosa, viii., 214
Parker, viii., 118
Parker, Otis, viii., 197
Parks, North, Middle and South, iv., 262
Parks, The, iv., 262
Park Theatre, the old, iv., 24, 25; vi., 185; vii., 52
Parmentier, Mr., a French émigré, iv., 18
Parodi, vii., 56
Passing of Arthur, vi., 146
Patent-office, iv., 41; hospital in, 46; wounded soldiers among the models, vii., 84
Patent-Office Hospital, iv., 46
Patriotism, a fervid, lacking in America, v., 274
Patronage, vi., 134
Patti, viii., 219
Paul, Epistles of, i., l.
Paumanacker, a native of Long Island, iv., 13
Paumanok, and my Life on it as Child and Young Man, iv., 13
Paumanok, Indian name of Long Island, iv., 13
Pay-day, iv., 83
Pay-day for colored troops, vi., 178
Paying the Bounties, iv., 83
Paying the 1st U. S. C. T., vi., 176
Payne, John Howard, author of *Brutus, or the Fall of Tarquin*, vi., 188
Peacemaker, a, v., 109
Peconic Bay, i., liii.; iv., 14
Peddlers on the sidewalk, iv., 231
Peddrick, Wash, viii., 138
Pelagius, x., 51
Penda, x., 60
Pennsylvania Avenue, walking down, vi., 172
Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, iv., 232
People, The, v., 71, 283; not recognized by literature, 72; fight for the safety of the flag, 73; dogged endurance of, 74; death calmly faced by, 75; defective streaks in, 76; geniuses have not spoken to, 89; voiceless purpose of, vi., 100; resent new ideas, 293
Peoria, vi., 213
Percy's *Reliques*, v., 56
Perfect Human Voice, The, vii., 21
Perfection only understood by perfection, ix., 117
Pericles, vii., 256
Perry, iv., 222
Persians, x., 40
Personalism, viii., 223
Personalism, the balance-wheel, v., 94; spirituality of religion comes forth in, 105
Personality, Whitman's desire to express his own, iii., 44
Peter——, ix., 134
Petrarch, x., 14
Pets, historical, ix., 229
Pfaff's restaurant, v., 21; viii., 277
Philadelphia Item, The, viii., 119
Philanthropy, modern, vii., 8

Phillips, Wendell, vi., 114; vii., 45, 55
Philology, result of studies in comparative, vi., 152
Philosophy of American history and politics, v., 225
Phocion, viii., 257
Phœnician alphabet, x., 42
Phrenological Cabinet, vii., 54
Phrynichus, vii., 19
Phydias, x., 9
Physique, viii., 261
Picayune and *Delta*, vi., 209
Picayune, The, request for article for, vi., 208
Pictorial History, x., 42
Picts and Scots, x., 41
Pieces in Early Youth, a special word about, v., 47
Piercy, Mrs., vii., 152
Pierrepont, Mr., iv., 19
Pierson, Elias, ix., 54
Piers Plowman, Langland's, x., 102
Pike's Peak, iv., 267
Pillow, General, vi., 210
Pindar, vii., 9; ix., 99
Pioneering—signs of, iv., 260
"Piquant utterances" of the katydid, iv., 156
Place Gratitude Fills in a Fine Character, The, vi., 222
Placide, Henry, iv., 25; vi., 185; vii., 50, 56; rôles of, iv., 25
Placide, T., vii., 56
Plain and prairie scenery most satisfying in North America, iv., 272
Plan in *Specimen Days*, v., 41
Plate Glass Notes, vi., 168
Plato, v., 117, 136; x., 9; Aristotle contrasted with, 16
Platt, Vashti, i., xix.
Plays and Operas too, iv., 24
Plutarch, v., 244; vii., 37; ix., 89, 99; notes on, 126
Poe, Edgar A., poems of, iii., 56; interview of Whitman with, iv., 22; criticism of poems, 284; dedication of monument to, 286
Poem for recitation, notes for, ix., 198
Poem, idea for a, ix., 202
Poem of the black person, x., 19
Poem of the railroad, ix., 201
Poem of the Universalities, ix., 190
Poems, American, a queer collection of, vi., 182

POEMS, FIRST LINES OF

	VOL.	PAGE
A batter'd, wreck'd old man	ii.	198
Aboard at a ship's helm	ii.	19
A California song	i.	251
A carol closing sixty-nine—a résumé—a repetition	ii.	294
Add to your show, before you close it, France	iii.	12
Adieu O Soldier	ii.	91
Afoot and light-hearted I take to the open road	i.	177
After a long, long course, hundreds of years, denials	iii.	12
After a week of physical anguish	ii.	321
After surmounting threescore and ten	iii.	9
After the dazzle of day is gone	ii.	297
After the sea-ship, after the whistling winds	ii.	24
After the supper and talk—after the day is done	ii.	322

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Ages and ages returning at intervals	i.	131
A glimpse through an interstice caught	i.	157
A great year and place	i.	287
A group of little children with their ways and chatter flow in	vii.	30
Ah little recks the laborer	i.	238
Ah, not this marble, dead and cold	ii.	305
Ah, poverties, wincings, and sulky retreats	ii.	261
Ah, whispering, something again, unseen	iii.	14
A leaf for hand in hand	i.	157
A lesser proof than old Voltaire's, yet greater	ii.	318
A line in long array where they wind betwixt green islands	ii.	63
All Nature seems at work—slugs leave their lair	v.	4
All submit to them where they sit, inner, secure, unapproachable to analysis in the soul	ii.	170
All you are doing and saying is to America dangled mirages	ii.	33
Always our old feuillage	i.	206
A march in the ranks hard-prest, and the road unknown	ii.	69
A mask, a perpetual natural disguiser of herself	ii.	37
Amid these days of order, ease, prosperity	ii.	316
Among the men and women the multitude	i.	161
An ancient song, reciting, ending	iii.	15
And if I pray, the only prayer	v.	15
And now gentlemen	i.	146
And whence and why come you	iii.	9
And who art thou? said I to the soft-falling shower	ii.	314
And yet not you alone, twilight and burying ebb	ii.	301
A newer garden of creation, no primal solitude	ii.	177
A noiseless patient spider	ii.	229
An old man bending I come among new faces	ii.	73
An old man's thought of school	ii.	173
A pagan heart, a Christian soul had he	v.	15
Apple orchards, the trees all cover'd with blossoms	ii.	298
Approaching, nearing, curious	ii.	296
A promise to California	i.	156
Are you the new person drawn toward me	i.	149
Arm'd year—year of the struggle	ii.	43
As Adam early in the morning	i.	136
As at thy portals also death	ii.	280
As consequent from store of summer rains	ii.	127
As down the stage again	ii.	308
Ashes of Soldiers, South or North	ii.	273
As I ebb'd with the ocean of life	ii.	14
As if a phantom caress'd me	ii.	227
A sight in camp in the daybreak gray and dim	ii.	71

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
As I lay with my head in your lap camerado	ii.	88
As I lay yonder in tall grass	iv.	151
As in a swoon, one instant	vii.	29
As I ponder'd in silence	i.	1
As I sit in twilight late alone by the flickering oak flame	iii.	17
As I sit with others at a great feast, suddenly while the music is playing	ii.	232
As I sit writing here, sick and grown old	ii.	295
As I walk these broad majestic days of peace	ii.	269
As I watch'd the ploughman ploughing	ii.	234
As one by one withdraw the lofty actors	ii.	304
A song, a poem of itself—the word itself a dirge	ii.	310
A song for occupations	i.	257
A song of the rolling earth, and of words according	i.	268
As the Greek's signal flame, by antique records told	ii.	320
As the time draws nigh glooming a cloud	ii.	271
As they draw to a close	ii.	294
As toilsome I wander'd Virginia's woods	ii.	72
As we walked up and down in the dark blue so mystic	iv.	229
A thousand perfect men and women appear	ii.	38
At the last, tenderly	ii.	233
At vacancy with Nature	iv.	187
A vague mist hanging 'round half the pages	iii.	9
A voice from Death, solemn and strange, in all his sweep and power	iii.	19
A woman waits for me, she contains all, nothing is lacking	i.	124
Aye, well I know 't is ghastly to descend that valley	iii.	36
Beat! beat! drums!—blow! bugles! blow	ii.	44
Be composed—be at ease with me—I am Walt Whitman, liberal and lusty as Nature	ii.	161
Beginning my studies the first step pleas'd me so much	i.	9
Behold this swarthy face, these gray eyes	i.	152
Brave, brave were the soldiers (high named to-day) who lived through the fight	ii.	295
But in silence, in dreams' projections	vii.	75
By blue Ontario's shore	ii.	107
By broad Potomac's shore, again old tongue	ii.	264
By that long scan of waves, myself call'd back, resumed upon myself	ii.	301
By the bivouac's fitful flame	ii.	65
By the city dead-house by the gate	ii.	139
Centre of equal daughters, equal sons	ii.	297

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Chanting the square deific, out of the One advancing, out of the sides	ii.	222
City of orgies, walks and joys	i.	151
City of ships	ii.	57
Come, I will make the continent indissoluble	i.	142
Come my tan-faced children	i.	279
Come, said my soul	i.	v.
Come said the Muse	i.	276
Come up from the fields father, here 's a letter from our Pete	ii.	65
Could we wish humanity different?	v.	10
Courage yet, my brother or my sister!	ii.	142
Darest thou now O soul	ii.	221
Delicate cluster! flag of teeming life	ii.	88
Did we count great, O Soul, to penetrate the themes of mighty books	ii.	295
Did you ask dulcet rhymes from me	ii.	89
Down on the ancient wharf, the sand, I sit, with a new-comer chatting	i.	317
Earth, my likeness	i.	158
Envy wears the mask of love, and, laughing sober fact to scorn	vi.	144
Ever the undiscouraged, resolute, struggling soul of man	ii.	310
Facing west from California's shores	i.	135
Far back, related on my mother's side	i.	308
Farewell! I did not know thy worth	v.	14
Far hence amid an isle of wondrous beauty	ii.	138
Fast-anchor'd eternal O love! O woman I love	i.	160
First O songs for a prelude	ii.	40
Flood tide below me! I see you face to face	i.	191
For him I sing	i.	9
For his o'erarching and last lesson the greybeard sufi	iii.	21
Forms, qualities, lives, humanity, language, thoughts	ii.	31
For the lands and for these passionate days and for myself	ii.	128
Fortune! if thou'll but gie me still	vi.	133
From all the rest I single out you, having a message for you	ii.	230
From east and west across the horizon's edge	iii.	11
From far Dakota's cañons	ii.	265
From Paumanok starting I fly like a bird	ii.	45
From pent-up aching rivers	i.	110
Full of life now, compact, visible	i.	162
Full of wickedness I—of many a smutch'd deed reminiscent	iii.	34

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Give me the splendid silent sun with all his beams full-dazzling	ii.	77
Give me your hand old Revolutionary	ii.	58
Gliding o'er all, through all	ii.	37
Good-bye my Fancy	iii.	27
Good-bye my Fancy—(I had a word to say)	iii.	8
Grand is the seen, the light, to me—grand are the sky and stars	iii.	26
Great are the myths—I too delight in them	iii.	305
Greater than memory of Achilles or Ulysses	ii.	296
Had I the choice to tally greatest bards	ii.	299
Hark, some wild trumpeter, some strange musician	ii.	249
Hast never come to thee an hour	ii.	38
Have I no weapon-word for thee—some message brief and fierce	iii.	11
Have you learn'd lessons only of those who admired you, and were tender with you, and stood aside for you	ii.	317
Heave the anchor short	iii.	7
He is wisest who has the most caution	iii.	303
Here first the duties of to-day, the lessons of the concrete	ii.	312
Here, take this gift	i.	11
Here the frailest leaves of me, and yet my strongest lasting	i.	156
Hold it up sternly—see this it sends back (who is it? is it you	ii.	30
Hours continuing long, sore and heavy hearted	iii.	299
How dare one say it	iii.	25
How fast the flitting figures come!	iv.	232
How solemn as one by one	ii.	87
How sweet the silent backward tracings	ii.	297
How they are provided for upon the earth (appearing at intervals	i.	10
Hush'd be the camps to-day	ii.	106
I am he that aches with amorous love	i.	133
I celebrate myself, and sing myself	i.	33
I doubt it not—then more, far more	iii.	12
I dream'd in a dream I saw a city invincible to the attacks of the whole of the rest of the earth	i.	158
If I should need to name, O Western World, your powerfulest scene and show	ii.	302
If thou art balk'd, O Freedom	vi.	91
I gazed upon this glorious sky	iv.	203
I have not so much emulated the birds that musically sing	iii.	31
I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear	i.	73

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
I heard that you ask'd for something to prove this puzzle the New World	i.	4
I heard you solemn-sweet pipes of the organ as last Sunday morn I pass'd the church	i.	134
I hear it was charged against me that I sought to destroy institutions	i.	154
I know the solemn monotone	vii.	19
I met a seer	i.	5
In a far-away northern county in the placid pastoral region	ii.	172
In a little house keep I pictures suspended, it is not a fix'd house	ii.	176
In cabin'd ships at sea	i.	2
In dreams I was a ship, and sail'd the boundless seas	vi.	296
I need no assurances, I am a man who is pre-occupied of his own soul	ii.	227
In midnight sleep of many a face of anguish	ii.	266
In paths untrodden	i.	137
In softness, languor, bloom, and growth	iii.	31
In some unused lagoon, some nameless bay	ii.	320
In the new garden, in all the parts	iii.	296
I saw in Louisiana a live-oak growing	i.	152
I saw old General at bay	ii.	82
I say whatever tastes sweet to the most perfect person, that is finally right	iii.	301
I see before me now a traveling army halting	ii.	64
I see in you the estuary that enlarges and spreads itself grandly as it pours in the great sea	ii.	38
I see the sleeping babe nestling the breast of its mother	ii.	36
I sent my soul through the invisible	vi.	261
I sing the body electric	i.	113
I sit and look out upon all the sorrows of the world, and upon all oppression and shame	ii.	34
Is reform needed? is it through you	ii.	165
I stand as on some mighty eagle's beak	ii.	293
I travel on not knowing	v.	15
I wander all night in my vision	ii.	201
I was asking for something specific and perfect for my city	ii.	256
I was looking a long while for Intentions	ii.	162
Joy, shipmate, joy	ii.	285
Lady, accept a birthday thought—haply an idle gift and token	vi.	297
Last of ebb, and daylight waning	ii.	300

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Laws for creations	ii.	160
Lead, kindly Light	iv.	294
Let the reformers descend from the stands where they are forever bawling—let an idiot or insane person appear on each of the stands	ii.	212
Let that which stood in front go behind	ii.	126
Let us twain walk aside from the rest	iii.	300
Locations and times—what is it in me that meets them all, whenever and wherever, and makes me at home	ii.	38
Long I thought that knowledge alone would suffice me—O if I could but obtain knowledge	iii.	298
Long, too long America	ii.	77
Look down fair moon and bathe this scene	ii.	86
Lo, the unbounded sea	i.	13
Lo, Victress on the peaks	ii.	89
Love may come, and love may go	vi.	147
Lover divine and perfect Comrade	ii.	30
Manhattan's streets I saunter'd pondering	ii.	146
Many things to absorb I teach to help you become eleve of mine	i.	160
Me imperturbe, standing at ease in Nature	i.	12
More experiences and sights, stranger, than you'd think for	iii.	23
My brother, man, if you would know the truth	v.	14
My city's fit and noble name resumed	ii.	293
My days are gliding swiftly by	iv.	70
My science-friend, my noblest woman-friend	ii.	311
My spirit to yours dear brother	ii.	159
Myself and mine gymnastic ever	i.	289
Nations ten thousand years before these States, and many times ten thousand years before these States	ii.	144
Native moments—when you come upon me—ah you are here now	i.	133
Nay, do not dream, designer dark	iii.	35
Nay tell me not to-day the publish'd shame	iii.	33
Night on the prairies	ii.	231
No labor-saving machine	i.	157
Not alone those camps of white, old comrades of the wars	ii.	283
Not from successful love alone	ii.	298
Not heat flames up and consumes	i.	150
Not heaving from my ribb'd breast only	i.	144
Nothing is ever really lost, or can be lost	ii.	309

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Not meagre, latent boughs alone, O songs! (scaly and bare, like eagles' talons	ii.	319
Not my enemies ever invade me—no harm to my pride from them I fear	iii.	304
Not the pilot has charged himself to bring his ship into port, though beaten back and many times baffled	ii.	72
Not to exclude or demarcate, or pick out evils from their formidable masses (even to expose them	iii.	24
Not youth pertains to me	ii.	85
Now finalè to the shore	ii.	286
Now, land and life, finalè, and farewell!	vii.	20
Now list to my morning's romanza, I tell the signs of the Answerer	i.	200
Now precedent songs, farewell—by every name farewell	ii.	321
O a new song, a free song	ii.	46
O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done	ii.	105
Of Equality—as if it harm'd me, giving others the same chances and rights as myself—as if it were not indispensable to my own rights that others possess the same	ii.	38
Of heroes, history, grand events, premises, myths, poems	iii.	31
Of him I love day and night I dream'd I heard he was dead	ii.	225
Of Justice—as if Justice could be anything but the same ample law, expounded by natural judges and saviours	ii.	37
Of obedience, faith, adhesiveness	ii.	37
Of olden time, when it came to pass	vi.	90
Of ownership—as if one fit to own things could not at pleasure enter upon all, and incorporate them into himself or herself	ii.	32
Of persons arrived at high positions, ceremonies, wealth, scholarships, and the like	ii.	162
Of public opinion	ii.	262
Of that blithe throat of thine from arctic bleak and blank	ii.	306
Of these years I sing	ii.	275
Of the terrible doubt of appearances	i.	145
Of the visages of things—and of piercing through to the accepted hells beneath	iii.	300
Of what I write from myself—as if that were not the resumé	iii.	316
O hymen! O hymenee! why do you tantalize me thus	i.	133
Old farmers, travelers, workmen (no matter how crippled or bent	ii.	312
O living always, always dying	ii.	230
O magnet-South! O glistening perfumed South! my South	ii.	254
O Mater! O fils!	iii.	292

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
O me, man of slack faith so long	ii.	257
O me! O life! of the questions of these recurring	ii.	33
On a flat road runs the well-train'd runner	ii.	36
On a high rock above the vast abyss	vii.	27
Once I pass'd through a populous city imprinting my brain for future use with its shows, architecture, customs, traditions	i.	134
One hour to madness and joy! O furious! O confine me not	i.	129
One's-self I sing, a simple separate person	i.	1
One song, America, before I go	iii.	317
One terrible to see—blood-red his garb	vi.	107
One thought ever at the fore	iii.	32
On journeys through the States we start	i.	11
Only themselves understand themselves and the like of themselves	ii.	33
On my Northwest coast in the midst of the night a fisherman's group stands watching	ii.	170
On, on the same, ye jocund twain	iii.	8
On the beach at night	ii.	19
On the beach at night alone	ii.	21
Or, from that Sea of Time	iii.	318
O sight of pity, shame and dole	ii.	150
O star of France	ii.	170
O sun of real peace! O hastening light!	ii.	294
O take my hand Walt Whitman	i.	163
O tan-faced prairie boy	ii.	86
Others may praise what they like	iii.	168
O to make the most jubilant song	i.	213
Out from behind this bending rough-cut mask	ii.	156
Out of the cradle endlessly rocking	ii.	6
Out of the leaping furnace flame	v.	14
Out of the murk of heaviest clouds	ii.	264
Out of the rolling ocean the crowd came a drop gently to me	i.	131
Over and through the burial chant	iii.	13
Over the carnage rose prophetic a voice	ii.	81
Over the Western sea hither from Niphon come	ii.	1
O you whom I often and silently come where you are that I may be with you	i.	161
Passing stranger! you do not know how longingly I look upon you	i.	153
Pensive and faltering	ii.	234
Pensive on her dead gazing I heard the Mother of All	ii.	282
Poets to come! orators, singers, musicians to come	i.	15

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Proudly the flood comes in, shouting, foaming, advancing	ii.	301
Proud music of the storm	i.	178
Quicksand years that whirl me I know not whither	ii.	228
Race of veterans—race of victors	ii.	85
Recorders ages hence	i.	147
Rise O days from your fathomless deeps, till you loftier, fiercer sweep	ii.	54
Roaming in thought over the Universe, I saw the little that is Good steadily hastening towards immortality	ii.	35
Roots and leaves themselves alone are these	i.	149
Sacred, blithesome, undenied	iii.	32
Sane, rambling, negligent hours	iii.	34
Sauntering the pavement or riding the country by-road, lo, such faces	ii.	244
Scented herbage of my breast	i.	138
Sea-beauty! stretch'd and basking	ii.	293
Shot gold, maroon and violet, dazzling silver, emerald, fawn	ii.	317
Shut not your doors to me proud libraries	i.	14
Silent and amazed even when a little boy	ii.	36
Simple and fresh and fair from winter's close emerging	ii.	296
Simple, spontaneous, curious, two souls interchanging	vii.	30
Singing my days	ii.	186
Skirting the river road (my forenoon walk, my rest	ii.	35
Small the theme of my Chant, yet the greatest—namely, One's-Self—a simple, separate person. That, for the use of the New World, I sing	i.	311
So far, and so far, and on toward the end	iii.	295
Somehow I cannot let it go yet, funeral though it is	iii.	10
Something startles me where I thought I was safest	ii.	140
Sometimes with one I love I fill myself with rage for fear I effuse unreturn'd love	i.	160
Soon shall the winter's foil be here	ii.	315
Sounds of the winter too	iii.	17
Spices crush'd, their pungence yield	v.	13
Spirit that form'd this scene	ii.	268
Spirit whose work is done—spirit of dreadful hours	ii.	90
Splendor of ended day floating and filling me	ii.	278
Spontaneous me, Nature	i.	126
Starting from fish-shape Paumanok where I was born	i.	16
States!	iii.	296

	VOL.	PAGE
Steaming the northern rapids—(an old St. Lawrence reminiscence	ii.	299
Still though the one I sing	i.	14
Stranger, if you passing meet me and desire to speak to me, why should you not speak to me	i.	15
Suddenly out of its stale and drowsy lair, the lair of slaves	ii.	27
Tears! tears! tears	ii.	17
Thanks in old age—thanks ere I go	ii.	313
That coursing on, whate'er men's speculations	ii.	313
That music always round me, unceasing, unbeginning, yet long untaught I did not hear	ii.	228
That shadow my likeness that goes to and fro seeking a livelihood, chattering, chaffering	i.	161
That which eludes this verse and any verse	ii.	258
The appointed winners in a long-stretch'd game	ii.	297
The business man the acquirer vast	ii.	281
The commonplace I sing	iii.	22
The devilish and the dark, the dying and diseas'd	iii.	23
Thee for my recitative	ii.	253
The last sunbeam	ii.	79
The mystery of mysteries, the crude and hurried ceaseless flame, spontaneous, bearing on itself	iii.	37
Then last of all, caught from these shores, this hill	ii.	302
The noble sire fallen on evil days	ii.	56
The prairie-grass dividing, its special odor breathing	i.	155
There are who teach only the sweet lessons of peace and safety	iii.	316
There was a child went forth every day	ii.	135
These carols sung to cheer my passage through the world I see	ii.	286
These I singing in Spring collect for lovers	i.	142
The sobbing of the bells, the sudden death-news everywhere	ii.	284
The soft voluptuous opiate shades	ii.	319
The soothing sanity and blitheness of completion	iii.	10
The touch of flame—the illuminating fire—the loftiest look at last	ii.	322
The two old, simple problems ever intertwined	ii.	314
The untold want by life and land ne'er granted	ii.	285
The wind blows north, the wind blows south	v.	13
The whole wide ether is the eagle's sway	v.	13
The world below the brine	ii.	21
They shall arise in the States	ii.	262

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Thick-sprinkled bunting! flag of stars	ii.	267
This day, O Soul, I give you a wondrous mirror	iii.	316
This dust was once the man	ii.	106
This is thy hour O Soul, thy free flight into the wordless	ii.	270
This latent mine—these unlaunch'd voices—passionate powers	ii.	295
This moment yearning and thoughtful sitting alone	i.	154
Thither as I look I see each result and glory retracing itself and nestling close, always obligated	i.	12
Thoughts, suggestions, aspirations, pictures	vii.	30
Thou Mother with thy Equal brood	ii.	235
Thou orb aloft full-dazzling! thou hot October noon	ii.	243
Thou reader throbbest life and pride and love the same as I	i.	15
Thou who hast slept all night upon the storm	ii.	18
Thrice-happy Sophocles! in good old age	vii.	19
Through the ample open door of the peaceful country barn	ii.	36
Through the soft evening air enwinding all	ii.	175
To be at all—what is better than that	iii.	35
To conclude, I announce what comes after me	ii.	286
To-day a rude brief recitative	ii.	22
To-day, from each and all, a breath of prayer—a pulse of thought	ii.	298
To-day, with bending head and eyes, thou, too, Columbia	ii.	320
To get betimes in Boston town I rose this morning early	ii.	25
To get the final lilt of songs	ii.	309
To the East and to the West	i.	159
To thee old cause	i.	4
To the garden the world anew ascending	i.	110
To the leaven'd soil they trod calling I sing for the last	ii.	92
To the States or any one of them, or any city of the States, *Resist much, obey little*	i.	10
To think of time—of all that retrospection	ii.	213
To those who've fail'd, in aspiration vast	ii.	294
Trickle drops! my blue veins leaving	i.	151
Turn O Libertad, for the war is over	ii.	92
Twilight and evening bell	vii.	18
Two boats with nets lying off the sea-beach, quite still	ii.	242
Two Rivulets side by side	iii.	317
Unfolded out of the folds of the woman man comes unfolded, and is always to come unfolded	ii.	166
Unheard by sharpest ear—unform'd in clearest eye, or cunningest mind	vi.	265
Unseen buds, infinite, hidden well	iii.	26
Upon this scene, this show	ii.	305

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Vast and starless, the pall of heaven	vi.	92
Vigil strange I kept on the field one night	ii.	67
Vocalism, measure, concentration, determination, and the divine power to speak words	ii.	157
Wandering at morn	ii.	174
Warble me now for joy of lilac-time (returning in reminiscence)	ii.	152
Weapon shapely, naked, wan	i.	223
We are all docile dough-faces	vi.	3
Weave in, weave in, my hardy life	ii.	263
Welcome, Brazilian brother—thy ample place is ready	iii.	16
We two boys together clinging	i.	156
We two, how long we were fool'd	i.	132
What am I after all but a child, pleas'd with the sound of my own name? repeating it over and over	ii.	166
What are those of the known but to ascend and enter the Unknown	ii.	286
What best I see in thee	ii.	267
What hurrying human tide, or day or night	ii.	307
What may we chant, O thou within this tomb	ii.	154
What place is besieged, and vainly tries to raise the siege	i.	14
What ship puzzled at sea, cons for the true reckoning	ii.	229
What think you I take my pen in hand to record	i.	159
What you give me I cheerfully accept	ii.	34
When his hour for death had come	iii.	19
When I heard at the close of the day how my name had been receiv'd with plaudits in the capitol, still it was not a happy night for me that follow'd	i.	148
When I heard the learn'd astronomer	ii.	32
When I peruse the conquer'd fame of heroes and the victories of mighty generals, I do not envy the generals	i.	155
When I read the book, the biography famous	i.	9
When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd	ii.	94
When the full-grown poet came	iii.	18
Where the city's ceaseless crowd moves on the livelong day	ii.	164
While behind all firm and erect as ever	iii.	32
While my wife at my side lies slumbering, and the wars are over long	ii.	82
While not the past forgetting	ii.	315
Whispers of heavenly death murmur'd I hear	ii.	221
Who are you dusky woman, so ancient hardly human	ii.	84
Whoever you are holding me now in hand	i.	140
Whoever you are, I fear you are walking the walks of dreams	i.	284

	VOL.	PAGE
Who has gone farthest? for I would go farther	ii.	260
Who includes diversity and is Nature	ii.	167
Who is now reading this	iii.	300
Who learns my lesson complete	ii.	168
Why reclining, interrogating? why myself and all drowsing	ii.	39
Why, who makes much of a miracle	ii.	163
Wild, wild the storm, and the sea high running	ii.	23
With all thy gifts America	ii.	176
With antecedents	i.	292
With husky-haughty lips, O sea	ii.	303
With its cloud of skirmishers in advance	ii.	64
Women sit or move to and fro, some old, some young	ii.	36
Word over all, beautiful as the sky	ii.	87
World take good notice, silver stars fading	ii.	86
Year of meteors! brooding year	i.	291
Years of the modern! years of the unperform'd	ii.	271
Year that trembled and reel'd beneath me	ii.	73
Yet, yet, ye downcast hours, I know ye also	ii.	226
You felons on trial in courts	ii.	160
You just maturing youth! You male or female	iii.	308
You lingering sparse leaves of me on winter-nearing boughs	ii.	319
Youth, large, lusty, loving—youth full of grace, force, fascination	i.	275
You tides with ceaseless swell! you power that does this work	ii.	299
You who celebrate bygones	i.	4

POEMS, TITLES OF

	VOL.	PAGE
Aboard at a Ship's Helm	ii.	19
Abraham Lincoln, Born Feb. 12, 1809	ii.	298
Adieu to a Soldier	ii.	91
After the Argument	vii.	30
After the Dazzle of Day	ii.	297
After the Sea-Ship	ii.	24
After the Supper and Talk	ii.	322
Ages and Ages Returning at Intervals	i.	131
Ah Poverties, Wincings, and Sulky Retreats	ii.	261
All is Truth	ii.	257
America	ii.	297
Among the Multitude	i.	161
And Yet Not You Alone	ii.	301
Apostroph	iii.	292

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Apparitions	iii.	9
Are You the New Person Drawn toward Me?	i.	149
Army Corps on the March, An	ii.	64
Artilleryman's Vision, The	ii.	82
As Adam Early in the Morning	i.	136
As at Thy Portals also Death	ii.	280
As Consequent, etc.	ii.	127
Ashes of Soldiers	ii.	273
As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life	ii.	14
As if a Phantom Caress'd Me	ii.	227
As I Lay with My Head in Your Lap, Camerado	ii.	88
As I Ponder'd in Silence	i.	1
As I Sit Writing Here	ii.	295
As I Walk these Broad Majestic Days	ii.	269
As I Watch'd the Ploughman Ploughing	ii.	234
Assurances	ii.	227
As the Greek's Signal Flame	ii.	320
As the Time Draws Nigh	ii.	271
As They Draw to a Close	ii.	284
As Toilsome I Wander'd Virginia's Woods	ii.	72
Autumn Rivulets	ii.	127
Base of All Metaphysics, The	i.	146
Beat! Beat! Drums!	ii.	44
Beautiful Women	ii.	36
Beginners	i.	10
Beginning My Studies	i.	9
Behold this Swarthy Face	i.	152
Birds of Passage	i.	276
Bivouac on a Mountain Side	ii.	64
Blood-Money	vi.	90
Boston Ballad, A (1854)	ii.	25
Bravest Soldiers, The	ii.	295
Bravo, Paris Exposition!	iii.	12
Broadway	ii.	307
Broadway Pageant, A,	ii.	1
By Blue Ontario's Shore	ii.	107
By Broad Potomac's Shore	ii.	264
By That Long Scan of Waves	ii.	301
By the Bivouac's Fitful Flame	ii.	65
By the Roadside	ii.	25
Calamus	i.	137

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Calming Thought of All, The	ii.	313
Camps of Green	ii.	283
Carol Closing Sixty-nine, A	ii.	294
Cavalry Crossing a Ford	ii.	63
Centenarian's Story, The	ii.	58
Chanting the Square Deific	ii.	222
Children of Adam	i.	110
Child's Amaze, A,	ii.	36
Christmas Greeting, A	iii.	16
City Dead-House, The	ii.	139
City of Orgies	i.	151
City of Ships	ii.	57
Clear Midnight, A	ii.	270
Come Up from the Fields Father	ii.	65
Commonplace, The	iii.	22
Continuities	ii.	309
Crossing Brooklyn Ferry	i.	191
Dalliance of the Eagles, The	ii.	35
Darest Thou Now O Soul	ii.	221
Dead Emperor, The	ii.	320
Dead Tenor, The	ii.	308
Death of General Grant	ii.	304
Death's Valley	iii.	35
Debris	iii.	303
Delicate Cluster	ii.	88
Dirge for Two Veterans	ii.	79
Dismantled Ship, The	ii.	320
Dough-Face Song	vi.	3
Drum-Taps	ii.	40
Dying Veteran, The	ii.	316
Earth, My Likeness	i.	158
Eidólons	i.	5
Eighteen Sixty-One	ii.	43
Election Day, November, 1884	ii.	302
Ended Day, An	iii.	10
Ethiopia Saluting the Colors	ii.	84
Europe	ii.	27
Evening Lull, An	ii.	321
Excelsior	ii.	260
Faces	ii.	244

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Facing West from California's Shores	i.	135
Fancies at Navesink	ii.	299
Farm Picture, A	ii.	36
Fast-Anchor'd Eternal O Love	i.	160
Few Drops Known, The	iii.	31
First Dandelion, The	ii.	296
First O Songs for a Prelude	ii.	40
Font of Type, A	ii.	295
For Him I Sing	i.	9
For Queen Victoria's Birthday	vi.	297
For Us Two, Reader Dear	vii.	30
For You O Democracy	i.	142
France	i.	287
From Far Dakota's Cañons (June 25, 1876)	ii.	265
From Montauk Point	ii.	293
From Noon to Starry Night	ii.	243
From Paumanok Starting I Fly Like a Bird	ii.	45
From Pent-up Aching Rivers	i.	110
Full of Life Now	i.	162
Germs	ii.	31
Give Me the Splendid Silent Sun	ii.	77
Gliding o'er All	ii.	37
Glimpse, A	i.	157
Gods	ii.	30
"Going Somewhere"	ii.	311
Good-Bye My Fancy	iii.	7
Good-Bye My Fancy	iii.	8
Good-Bye My Fancy	iii.	27
Grand Is the Seen	iii.	26
Great are the Myths	iii.	305
Had I the Choice	ii.	299
Halcyon Days	ii.	298
Hand-Mirror, A	ii.	30
Hast Never Come to Thee an Hour?	ii.	38
Here the Frailest Leaves of Me	i.	156
Hours Continuing Long, Sore and Heavy-Hearted	iii.	299
How Solemn as One by One	ii.	87
Hush'd Be the Camps To-Day	ii.	106
I am He that Aches with Love	i.	133
I Dream'd in a Dream	i.	158

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
I Hear America Singing	i.	13
I Heard You Solemn-Sweet Pipes of the Organ	i.	134
I Heard It was Charged against Me	i.	154
In Cabin'd Ships at Sea	i.	2
In Paths Untrodden	i.	137
Inscriptions	i.	1
Interpolation Sounds	iii.	13
In the New Garden, in All the Parts	iii.	296
I Saw in Louisiana a Live-Oak Growing	v.	152
I Saw Old General at Bay	ii.	82
I Sing the Body Electric	i.	113
I Sit and Look Out	ii.	34
Italian Music in Dakota	ii.	175
I was Looking a Long While	ii.	162
Joy, Shipmate, Joy	ii.	285
Kiss to the Bride, A	iii.	32
Kosmos	ii.	167
Last Invocation, The	ii.	233
Last of Ebb, and *Daylight Waning*	ii.	300
Laws for Creations	ii.	160
Leaf for Hand in Hand, A	i.	157
Leaves of Grass	vii.	30
Leaves of Grass's Purport	iii.	24
Lessons	iii.	316
Life	ii.	310
Life and Death	ii.	314
Lingering Last Drops	iii.	7
Locations and Times	ii.	38
Long I Thought that Knowledge	iii.	298
Long, Long Hence	iii.	12
Long, too Long America	ii.	77
Look Down Fair Moon	ii.	86
Lo, Victress on the Peaks	ii.	89
Mannahatta	ii.	256
Mannahatta	ii.	293
March in the Ranks Hard-Prest, and the Road Unknown, A	ii.	69
Mediums	ii.	262
Me Imperturbe	i.	12
Memories	ii.	297

	VOL.	PAGE
Memories of President Lincoln	ii.	94
Miracles	ii.	163
Mirages	iii.	23
Mother and Babe	ii.	36
My Canary Bird	ii.	295
My Legacy	ii.	281
My Picture-Gallery	ii.	176
Myself, Mine	i.	289
My 71st Year	iii.	9
Mystic Trumpeter, The	ii.	249
Native Moments	i.	133
Nay, Tell Me Not To-day the Publish'd Shame	iii.	33
Night on the Prairies	ii.	231
Noiseless Patient Spider, A	ii.	229
No Labor-Saving Machine	i.	157
Not Heat Flames up and Consumes	i.	150
Not Heaving from My Ribb'd Breast Only	i.	144
Not Meagre Latent Boughs Alone	ii.	319
Not My Enemies Ever Invade Me	iii.	304
Not the Pilot	ii.	72
Not Youth Pertains to Me	ii.	85
Now Finale to the Shore	ii.	286
Now Precedent Songs Farewell	ii.	321
O Captain! My Captain!	ii.	105
Offerings	ii.	38
Of Him I Love Day and Night	ii.	225
Of Many a Smutch'd Deed Reminiscent	iii.	34
Of that Blithe Throat of Thine	ii.	306
Of the Terrible Doubt of Appearances	i.	145
Of the Visages of Things	iii.	300
O Hymen! O Hymenee	i.	133
Old Age Echoes	iii.	31
Old Age's Lambent Peaks	ii.	322
Old Age's Ship and Crafty Death's	iii.	11
Old Chants	iii.	15
Old Ireland	ii.	138
Old Man's Thought of School, An	ii.	173
Old Salt Kossabone	ii.	308
Old War-Dreams	ii.	266
O Living Always, Always Dying	ii.	230
O Magnet-South	ii.	254

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
O Me! O Life!	ii.	33
Once I Pass'd through a Populous City	i.	134
One Hour to Madness and Joy	i.	129
One's Self I Sing	i.	1
One Song, America, before I Go	iii.	317
One Thought Ever at the Fore	iii.	32
On Journeys through the States	i.	11
On, on the Same, Ye Jocund Twain!	iii.	8
On the Beach at Night	ii.	19
On the Beach at Night Alone	ii.	21
On the Same Picture	iii.	36
Orange Buds by Mail fromFlorida	ii.	318
Or, from that Sea of Time	iii.	318
Osceola	iii.	19
O Star of France (1870–71)	ii.	170
O Sun of Real Peace	iii.	294
O Tan-Faced Prairie Boy	ii.	86
Others May Praise What They Like	ii.	168
Our Old Feuillage	i.	206
Out from Behind this Mask	ii.	156
Outlines for a Tomb	ii.	154
Out of May's Shows Selected	ii.	298
Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking	ii.	6
Out of the Rolling Ocean the Crowd	i.	131
Over the Carnage Rose Prophetic a Voice	ii.	81
Ox-Tamer, The	ii.	172
O You Whom I Often and Silently Come	i.	161
Pallid Wreath, The	iii.	10
Passage to India	ii.	186
Patroling Barnegat	ii.	23
Paumanok	ii.	293
Paumanok Picture	ii.	242
Pensive and Faltering	ii.	234
Pensive on Her Dead Gazing	ii.	282
Perfections	ii.	33
Persian Lesson, A	iii.	21
Pilot in the Mist, The	ii.	299
Pioneers! O Pioneers!	i.	279
Poem of Remembrances for a Girl or a Boy of These States	iii.	308
Poets to Come	i.	15
Portals	ii.	286
Prairie-Grass Dividing, The	i.	155
Prairie States, The	ii.	177

	VOL.	PAGE
Prairie Sunset, A	ii.	317
Prayer to Columbus	ii.	198
Promise to California, A	i.	156
Proudly the Flood Comes In	ii.	301
Proud Music of the Storm	ii.	178
Queries to My Seventieth Year	ii.	296
Quicksand Years	ii.	228
Race of Veterans	ii.	85
Reconciliation	ii.	87
Recorders Ages Hence	i.	147
Red Jacket (from Aloft)	ii.	305
Rejected Lines and Passages	iii.	256
Rejected Poems	iii.	292
Return of the Heroes, The	ii.	128
Reversals	ii.	126
Riddle Song, A	ii.	258
Rise O Days from Your Fathomless Deeps	ii.	54
Roaming in Thought	ii.	35
Roots and Leaves Themselves Alone	i.	149
"Rounded Catalogue, Divine Complete, The"	iii.	23
Runner, The	ii.	36
Sailing the Mississippi at Midnight	vi.	92
Sail Out for Good, Eidólon Yacht!	iii.	7
Salut au Monde!	i.	163
Sands at Seventy (First Annex)	ii.	293
Savantism	i.	12
Says	iii.	301
Scented Herbage of My Breast	i.	138
Sea-Drift	ii.	6
Shakspere-Bacon's Cipher	iii.	12
Ship Ahoy	vi.	296
Ship Starting, The	i.	13
Shut Not Your Doors	i.	14
Sight in Camp in the Daybreak Gray and Dim, A	ii.	71
Singer in the Prison	ii.	150
Sleepers, The	ii.	201
Small the Theme of My Chant	ii.	311
Sobbing of the Bells, The	ii.	284
So Far and so Far, and on Toward the End	iii.	295
So Long!	ii.	286

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
Sometimes with One I Love	i.	160
Song at Sunset	ii.	278
Song for All Seas, all Ships	ii.	22
Song for Occupations, A	i.	257
Song of Joys, A	i.	213
Song of Myself	i.	33
Song of Prudence	ii.	146
Song of the Answerer	i.	200
Song of the Banner at Daybreak	ii.	46
Song of the Broad-Axe	i.	223
Song of the Exposition	i.	238
Song of the Open Road	i.	177
Song of the Redwood-Tree	i.	251
Song of the Rolling Earth, A	i.	268
Song of the Universal	i.	276
Soon Shall the Winter's Foil be Here	ii.	315
Sounds of the Winter	iii.	17
Spain, 1873–74	ii.	264
Sparkles from the Wheel	ii.	164
Spirit that Form'd this Scene	ii.	268
Spirit whose Work is Done	ii.	90
Spontaneous Me	i.	126
Starting from Paumanok	i.	16
States!	iii.	296
Still though the One I Sing	i.	14
Stronger Lessons	ii.	317
Supplement Hours	iii.	34
Tears	ii.	17
Tests	ii.	170
Thanks in the Old Age	ii.	313
That Music Always Round Me	ii.	228
That Shadow My Likeness	i.	161
Then Last of All	ii.	302
Then Shall Perceive	iii.	31
There Was a Child Went Forth	ii.	135
These Carols	ii.	286
These I Singing in Spring	i.	142
Thick-Sprinkled Bunting	ii.	267
This Compost	ii.	140
This Day, O Soul	iii.	316
This Dust Was Once the Man	ii.	106
This Moment Yearning and Thoughtful	i.	154
Thought	ii.	37

	VOL.	PAGE
Thought	ii.	37
Thought	ii.	38
Thought	ii.	162
Thought	ii.	232
Thought	iii.	316
Thought of Columbus, A	iii.	37
Thoughts	ii.	32
Thoughts	ii.	262
Thoughts	ii.	275
Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood	ii.	235
Thou Orb Aloft Full-Dazzling	ii.	243
Thou Reader	i.	15
To a Certain Cantatrice	i.	11
To a Certain Civilian	ii.	89
To a Common Prostitute	ii.	161
To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire	ii.	142
To a Historian	i.	4
To a Locomotive in Winter	ii.	253
To a President	ii.	33
To a Pupil	ii.	165
To a Stranger	i.	153
To a Western Boy	i.	160
To Be At All	iii.	35
Today and Thee	ii.	297
To Foreign Lands	i.	4
To Get the Final Lilt of Songs	ii.	307
To Him that was Crucified	ii.	159
To Old Age	ii.	38
To One Shortly to Die	ii.	230
Torch, The	ii.	170
To Rich Givers	ii.	34
To Soar in Freedom and in Fulness of Power	iii.	31
To the East and to the West	i.	159
To Thee Old Cause	i.	4
To the Garden the World	i.	110
To the Leaven'd Soil They Trod	ii.	92
To the Man-of-War Bird	ii.	18
To the Pending Year	iii.	11
To the States	i.	10
To the States	ii.	39
To the Sun-set Breeze	iii.	14
To Think of Thee	ii.	213
To Those Who've Failed	ii.	294
To You	i.	15

Index

	VOL.	PAGE
To You	i.	284
To You	iii.	300
Transpositions	ii.	212
Trickle Drops	i.	151
True Conquerors	ii.	312
Turn O Libertad	ii.	92
Twenty Years	ii.	317
Twilight	ii.	319
Twilight Song, A	iii.	17
Two Rivulets	iii.	317
Unexpress'd, The	iii.	25
Unfolded out of the Folds	ii.	166
United States to Old World Critics, The	ii.	312
Unnamed Lands	ii.	144
Unseen Buds	iii.	26
Untold Want, The	ii.	285
Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night	ii.	67
Virginia—The West	ii.	56
Visor'd	ii.	37
Vocalism	ii.	157
Voice from Death, A	iii.	19
Voice of the Rain, The	ii.	314
Wallabout Martyrs, The	ii.	296
Wandering at Morn	ii.	174
Warble for Lilac-time	ii.	152
Washington's Monument, February, 1885	ii.	305
Weave In, My Hardy Life	ii.	263
We Two Boys Together Clinging	i.	156
We Two, How Long We were Fool'd	i.	132
What Am I After All	ii.	166
What Best I See in Thee	ii.	267
What Place is Besieged?	i.	14
What Ship Puzzled at Sea	ii.	229
What Think You I Take My Pen in Hand?	i.	159
When I Heard at the Close of the Day	i.	148
When I Heard the Learn'd Astronomer	ii.	32
When I Peruse the Conquer'd Fame	i.	155
When I Read the Book	i.	9
When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd	ii.	94

	VOL.	PAGE
When the Full-Grown Poet Came	iii.	18
While Behind All Firm and Erect	iii.	32
While not the Past Forgetting	ii.	315
Whispers of Heavenly Death	ii.	221
Whoever You Are Holding Me Now in Hand	i.	140
Who Is Now Reading This?	iii.	300
Who Learns My Lesson Complete	ii.	168
With All Thy Gifts	ii.	176
With Antecedents	i.	292
With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea	ii.	303
Woman Waits for Me, A	i.	124
World Below the Brine, The	ii.	21
World Take Good Notice	ii.	86
Wounded in the House of Friends	vi.	91
Wound-Dresser, The	ii.	73
Year of Meteors (1859–60)	i.	291
Years of the Modern	ii.	271
Year that Trembled and Reel'd Beneath Me	ii.	73
Yet, Yet, Ye Downcast Hours	ii.	226
Yonnondios	ii.	310
You Felons on Trial in Courts	ii.	160
You Lingering Sparce Leaves of Me	ii.	319
Youth, Day, Old Age, and Night	i.	275
You Tides with Ceaseless Swell	ii.	299

Poems, great ones not easily understood, ix., 10
Poems, how they must be perceived, ix., 8
Poems, international, v., 222
Poems, messages of great, v., 172
Poems, notes for different, x., 20, 24, 28, 30, 32, 35
Poems of Orientalism tend to psychological development, vi., 104
Poems of the Old World unsuited to America, iii., 52
Poems of the purports of life, v., 141
Poems, should be tallied with poets themselves, v., 273
Poet, American must create patriotism, v., 274
Poet, beware, ix., 10
Poet, chief trait in, iii., 58
Poet, direct trial of, v., 181
Poet, exact science no check on great, v., 173
Poet, final test of, v., 181
Poet-Lore, vii., 22
Poet, lover of the universe, v., 167
Poet, modern, a verse-writer, v., 218
Poet must have perfect candor, v., 177

Poet, needed work of, v., 279
Poet, office of, in primeval times, vi., 104
Poet, present accepted notion of, v., 218
Poet, the great coming, v., 142
Poet, the process of his work, v., 139
Poet, what he should do, v., 166
Poet, what is expected of, v., 165
Poetry, America demands bold, v., 128
Poetry, American, infant genius of, sleeping, v., 129
Poetry and prose, barriers between should be broken down, v., 271
Poetry and Religion, vii., 68
Poetry cannot be defined, iii., 47
Poetry, growth of generations, v., 274
Poetry is an evolution, vi., 124
Poetry, its demsene, the interior, v., 223
Poetry, its relation to the nation, v., 207
Poetry, new—California, Canada, Texas, v., 271
Poetry of the future, v., 216
Poetry, sane and sweet, serviceable to future generations, v., 220
Poetry, the stock of all imaginative literature, v., 58
Poetry, The Theory of—"capricious pencillings" on, v., 39
Poetry, the topmost proof of a race, v., 205
Poetry To-Day in America, former title of, v., 48
Poetry To-Day in America—Shakspere—The Future, v., 205
Poetry, truest, regardless of rhyme, v., 272
Poetry worthy the immortal soul, v., 138
Poets, a law unto themselves, v., 271
Poets, American, are to enclose old and new, v., 163
Poets, American, inspiring subjects for, v., 220
Poets, enrich mankind with free flights, v., 271
Poets, German, x., 12
Poets, Italian, x., 11
Poets, modern, enjoy longevity, vi., 294
Poets must have audiences, v., 274
Poets, names of, x., 13
Poets of the future, what their characteristics must be, v., 141
Poets of the Kosmos, v., 175
Poets, original American, could mould nation, v., 58
Poets, peculiarities of, ix., 87
Poets, qualities of the greatest, v., 164
Poets responsible to God, v., 271
Poets, the primitive, ix., 96
Poets, the voice and exposition of liberty, v., 175
Poets, when true ones will appear, v., 219
Policemen, Central Park, duties of, iv., 242; malarial fever worst trouble of, 243; talks with, vi., 167
Political democracy, sentimental consideration of, v., 67; life's gymnasium, 85
Political history of the past, v., 67
Politics, fashion to decry active, v., 106; parties becoming dangerous, 106; young men should enter, 106; doubtful whether best citizens ever will take positions in, 289
Poliuto, iv., 26
Polk, i., xxxiii.

Polychronicon, ix., 223
Pooley, Capt. Samuel, iv., 134
Pope, Alexander, vii., 23; ix., 222; x., 8
Pope, The, viii., 63
Poplar, a, iv., 157
Pop Rice, stage driver, iv., 24
Port Hudson, vi., 176
Potomac, iv., 67; army of, iv., 38
Potter, Colonel, vii., 96, 160
Poverty question, v., 284
Power, iv., 25
Prairie Analogies—The Tree Question, iv., 274
Prairie Bird, vi., 212
Prairies and Great Plains in Poetry, iv., 270
Prairies, The—(and an Undeliver'd Speech), iv., 255
Preface to "Democratic Vistas" with Other Papers—English Edition, vi., 199
Preface, 1855, to first issue of "Leaves of Grass," v., 161
Preface, 1872, to "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free," v., 185
Preface, 1876, to "Leaves of Grass" and "Two Rivulets," v., 193
Preface to a volume, vii., 43
Preface to a volume of essays and tales by Wm. D. O'Connor, vii., 43
Preface to English Edition of "Democratic Vistas," vi., 199
Preface to the Reader in the British Islands, vi., 196
Preface to Whitman's letters to his mother, vii., 77
Premonitory, ix., 192
Prentiss brothers, story of, iv., 128
Presidency, American, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth terms of, v., 154
President Hayes's Speeches, iv., 210
Presidentiads of Fillmore and Buchanan ominous, v., 241
Presidential election, iv., 164
Preterit, x., 5
Priam, v., 255
Price, Emily, viii., 186
Price, Mrs., vii., 182
Pride in himself indispensable to an American, iii., 60
Pride of the West, vi., 212
Priest, every man his own, v., 182
Priest, needed work of, v., 279
Priestly, Doctor, ix., 129
Prince, vi., 116
Prince of Wales, v., 24; visit to the United States, iv., 21
Printing Office—Old Brooklyn, iv., 18
Pritchard, Mrs., vi., 189; vii., 56
Probasco, vii., 144, 180, 252
Problem in America, how to combine individual freedom with public duty, v., 300
Problem of humanity is social and religious, v., 54
Problem of statesmen in Europe, v., 82
Property, universal ownership of, v., 82
Prophecy and prediction—words misused, iv., 307
Prose and poetry, barriers between, should be broken down, v., 271
Prosody, x., 5
Protection, profits of, go where? v., 290
Providence, viii., 33, 36
Prudence, extreme caution or, v., 178
Public conditions preceding war, v., 240
Puritanism non-philosophic, vii., 9
Puritans, The, iv., 26

Putnam's Magazine, x., 105
Pythagoras, ix., 94; x., 9, 51

Q

Quakers, origin of, vi., 273
Quakers, Orthodox and Hicksite, separation of, vi., 267
Quakers persecuted in America, vi., 278
Quakers, Williams family were, iv., 10
Quarter Master's Hospital, viii., 177
Queen Elizabeth, viii., 189
Queens County, L. I., iv., 20
Queens County, N. Y., iv., 6, 11
Quintette, A, iv., 187

R

Rabelais, iv., 23; v., 244; vii., 46
Rachel, ix., 82
Racine, ix., 82
Racliffe, viii., 191
Radical, i., lxvi.
Radical Review, The, i., lxx.
Ragan, James E., vi., 239
Ramayana, ix., 229
Ranger, vi., 185; vii., 56
Rapidan River, The, iv., 82; vii., 256
Rappahannock River, i., lix.; iv., 54; vii., 256, 259
Rathbone, P. H., v., 235
Rattlin', warin', Willie, vi., 139
Rauch, Fred., iv., 224
Rawlins, General, viii., 45
Rawson, Chaplain, iv., 248
Raymond, Henry J., i., lxi.; viii., 192, 214
Reade, Charles—*Foul Play*, viii., 87
Reader, a perfect, viii., 248
Reading aloud to soldiers, vii., 123
Reading necessary, light, ix., 161
Reading, *The Death of Abraham Lincoln*, public, v., 5
Reading of the future, what its process should be, v., 148
Realism, growing excess and arrogance of, v., 137
Realities not in books, ix., 30
Real War will Never Get in the Books, The, iv., 139
Rebels cared for impartially, iv., 55
Recreation, viii., 264
Red-birds, the stage line, iv., 23
Redgate, Stephen, vii., 170
Redwald, x., 60
Rees, Welsh & Co., i., lxxiii.
Refinement threatens like a cancer, v., 98
Reisser, i., lxxxviii.
Releas'd Union Prisoners from South, iv., 120
Religion always the altitude of literature and poetry, v., 136
Religion differentiated from ecclesiasticism, v., 191
Religion essential to complete personality, v., 190
Religion essential to poetry, v., 190
Religion is the poetry of humanity, vi., 183
Religion not dependent upon churches and creeds, v., 105
Religion of the Bible, ix., 69
Religions, list of, ix., 55
Religion the fundamental feature of Judaism, vi., 105
Religion too important to be restricted to the churches, v., 191
Reminiscence of Elias Hicks, iv., 295
Reminiscence of New York Plays and Acting Fifty Years Ago, A, vi., 184
Republican experiment possibly a failure, v., 286

Republicanism advances, v., 219
Republican success, viii., 30
Resistants, the, x., 58
Revere House, v., 5
Revolutionists, appeals of, necessary, v., 82
Revolution of 1776 a great strike, v., 285
Reybold, iv., 222
Reynolds, Doctor, vii., 123
Rhyme, day of conventional, ended, v., 272
Rhyme not characteristic of Hebrew poetry, vi., 105
Rhynders, Isaiah, vii., 55
Rhys, Ernest, vii., 35
Rice, Daddy, iv., 25; vi., 185; vii., 53
Richard II., vi., 121
Richard III., vi., 121
Richardson, Mrs., iv., 25; vii., 51, 56
Richings, Peter, iv., 26; vii., 52, 56
Richmond, Va., iv., 92; vii., 238, 247, 251, 257, 266, 269, 271, 274
Richter, Jean Paul, notes on, ix., 121
Riddel, Mrs., vi., 129
Rigoletto, iv., 26
Rigs of Barley, Scotch drink, vi., 141
Riker, viii., 54
Riley, Fort, iv., 271
Rip Van Winkle, vii., 52
Ristori, viii., 189, 190, 195
Rives, Frank, viii., 119, 122
Robert, viii., 80
Robert Burns as Poet and Person, vi., 128
Roberts, Rev. Mr., v., 237
Rochester Express, The, viii., 222
Rockaway, iv., 13
Rockaway, L. I., Far, v., 13
Rocky Mountain Peaks, iv., 261
Rolleston, T. W., *Walt Whitman—Ein Vortrag*, i., lxxi.
Rolleston, T. W., i., lxxv.
Rolling Stone, The, viii., 130
Roman policy towards conquered nations, x., 52
Romans, ancient weapons of, x., 44
Rome, v., 296
Rome Brothers, i., lii.; iv., 27
Room from which Whitman wrote in 1891, vii., 61
Rosebery, Lord, vi., 138
Rosecrans, vii., 201, 203, 206
Rossetti publishes volume of *Selections* in England, i., lxv.
Rossetti, William Michael, i., lxv.
Rossini, iv., 26; v., 217
Round Table with Walt Whitman, i., lxxxix.
Round Towers of Ireland, x., 56
Rousseau, J. J., ix., 80; *Confessions*, 81
Rowland, John, viii., 58, 61
Rowland, Mr., viii., 201
Rubens, iii., 65
Ruggles, Doctor, vii., 148; viii., 202, 208, 211
Ruins in North America, ix., 52
Rulers Strictly Out of the Masses, v., 293
Rumors, Changes, Etc., iv., 84
Runeberg, ix., 95
Ruskin, vii., 58
Russell, vii., 53
Russell, D. F., iv., 41; vii., 105, 106
Russia, features in common with America, v., 260
Russian, endorsement of translation of *Leaves of Grass* into, v., 260
Russian serfs, ix., 216
Ryan, shooting of, in Cuba, viii., 118

S

Sabbath, the true friends of the, ix., 108
Sadi, x., 8
Sadness in Sherman's army after Lincoln's death, iv., 119
Saguenay River, immense depth of, iv., 298; wonderful capes and bays of, 299
Saharas of Africa, iv., 274
Sail in New York Bay, iv., 207
Saint-Beuve, v., 217
Salisbury, N. C., prisoners in, iv., 92; horrors of, 122; Davis government ignores complaints against officers of, 123; men buried alive, 123
Salt Works, ix., 57
Samothea, x., 39
Samples of My Common-Place Book, v., 12
Sanborn, F. B., at Concord, Mass., a visit to, v., 22
Sand, George, iv., 285; vii., 46; ix. 19
Sands at Seventy, i., lxxv.
Sandy Hook, iv., 207
Santa Fé, New Mexico, vi., 116
Sarrazin, Gabriel, *Poésie Anglaise*, i., lxxi.
Saunders, Fred, corporal, vii., 260
Saunders, Johnny, viii., 152
Savage Saguenay, The, iv., 298
Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv., 7
Saxons, x., 57
Scala, viii., 9
Scanning poetry, notes for, x., 5
Scene at the Capitol, iv., 114
Scenes on Ferry and River—Last Winter's Nights, iv., 224
Schelling, iv., 319, 322; ix., 180
Schiedam, iv., 246
Schiller, iv., 285; ix., 114
Schlegel, Frederick, *Philosophy of History*, ix., 120
Schliemann, Doctor, excavations of, v., 6
Schmidt, Rudolf, i., lxxi.
Schurz, Senator, viii., 77
Science, a sun, v., 123; destroys old theology, v., 190
Science, of God the final science, v., 190 ; of Wealth, v., 284
Scientific inauguration of modern democracy in Shakspere's plays? vi., 123
Scientific theories continually changing, ix., 3
Scotland, x., 41
Scottish Chiefs, viii., 122
Scott, John R., iv., 26
Scott, Walter, v., 207; ix., 84; *Border Minstrelsy*, v., 56; *Complete Poems of*, iii., 55; the noblest, healthiest romancer that ever lived, v., 209; Whitman's enjoyment of works of, iv., 18
Scribner's Monthly, vii., 43; viii., 100
Sculpture, ix., 157
Scylla and Charybdis, v., 245
Scythia, x., 42
Seagulls on the Delaware, iv., 222
Sea-prairies, flat and odorous, iv., 166
Sea-Shore Fancies, iv., 167
Sea-shore, invisible influence of, iv., 167
Sea, The, vii., 53
Secesh Brave, A, iv., 51
Secession below the surface, originated in North, v., 155
Secession soldiers, sick, vi., 233
Secession War, statistics of, vi., 224
Secretary of the Interior—rival claims of Harland and Dubois for position as, vi., 219

Secretary of War talks with Lincoln, vii., 272
Sedgwick, vi., 176
Sedgewick's 6th Corps, iv., 54
Seeing Niagara to Advantage, iv., 291
Sefton, John and William, vi., 189; vii., 56
Seguins, the, iv., 25; vi., 185; vii., 56
Semmes, Captain, vii., 144
Separation, The (of Quakers), vi., 267
Sesostris, ix., 102; x., 9
Seth Low, "our spirited little tug," iv., 245
Severus, x., 46
Seward, William H., iv., 21; vii., 139; his travels in the East, vi., 107
Sex relation, nothing impure in, i., xlii.
Sexual passion not an improper theme for a poet, v., 233
Sexuality, treatment of both ethic and esthetic, v., 235
Seymour and Blair, viii., 24, 228
Shad fishing on Hudson River, iv., 238
Shakspere, i., 1.; iii., 53, 55, 59; v., 23, 118, 141, 207, 219, 232, 269, 292; vi., 106, 135, 138; vii., 6, 9, 23, 37, 51; ix., 84, 88, 91, 189; an astral genius, v., 275; and Bacon, ix., 75; aristocratic, vi., 137; Bacon, and Raleigh, ix., 70; characters of, v., 223; comedies of, vi., 126; excelled in some respects by the best Greeks, v., 208; greatest in his historical plays, vi., 120; greatest power of, ix., 88; his service to America, v., 208; inferior manifestations in, v., 276; insults democratic standards, v., 276; is incarnated feudalism, v., 275; notes on, ix., 71; overcoloring in, ix., 76; poisonous to idea of pride of democracy, v., 91; Scott, and Tennyson from a western point of view, v., 208; stands alone, v., 209; stands for esthetic scepters of the past, vi., 125; the only great genius in English Literature, v., 276; undemocratic, v., 275
Shakspere for America, vii., 22
Shams always the show, v., 88
Sharpe, Mrs., vii., 52
Shaw, Quincy, v., 9
Shedd, Mr., viii., 50, 59, 64
Sheep in show-windows, iv., 232
Shelley, vi., 289; vii., 23; ix., 84
Shelter Island, iv., 14
Shenandoah Valley, the, vi., 173; vii., 252
Sheppard, v., 21
Sheridan, iv., 126; love of western soldiers for, iv., 127
Sherman's Army Jubilation—its Sudden Stoppage, iv., 119
Shillitoe, Thomas, an English Quaker, vi., 269
Ship Ahoy, vi., 296
Short autobiography, a, vii., 63
Shorter Notes, Isolated Words, Brief Sentences, Memoranda, Suggestive Expressions, Names and Dates, x., 3
Shoshone Indians—form of oath among the, v., 13
Siamese, poems among, ix., 228
Sick Spell, A, vii., 34
Siddons, Mrs., as Lady Macbeth, an article on, vi., 184
Sigel, General, vii., 266
Sight of released prisoners worse than battle-fields, iv., 120

Signal Corps, viii., 66
Silent General, The, iv., 279
Silent Little Follower, A—the Coreopsis, iv., 269
Silent Night Ramble, A, iv., 79
Silures, x., 45
Silver mining-camp, iv., 265
Simms, Captain, iv., 134
Simms, Wm. Gilmore, ix., 166
Simplicity, beauty of, v., 170
Simplicity of Lincoln's second inauguration, iv., 109
Sims, Captain, vii., 160, 214, 250, 260
Singular young man, a, ix., 135
Sismondi, v., 291
Sky, The—Days and Nights—Happiness, iv., 161
Slang, definition of, vi., 149; on the horse-cars, 154; in the West, 154
Slang in America, vi., 149
Slavery too common to be identified exclusively with the South, v., 156
"Sleepers, the," loss of the *Mexico* alluded to in, iv., 14
Sleeping-car, enjoyment in, iv., 252
Small, Marcus, iv., 61
Small Memoranda, vi., 208
Small Memoranda — Thousands Lost—Here One or Two Preserv'd, vi., 217
Smith, Alexander, Poems of, ix., 156
Smith and Wood, iv., 18
Smith, Bethuel, iv., 134
Smith, Caleb, vi., 219
Smith, Cyrus P., iv., 19
Smith, George, viii., 50
Smith, Ira, pilot friend of Whitman, iv., 21
Smith, Wm. Henry, ix., 75
Snyder, Isaac, vii., 96
Snyder's Bluffs, vii., 174
Social Science Congress, v., 235
Social Science Convention, v., 139
Society, v., 280
Society in Boston, v., 280
Society in New York, v., 280
Society in the West, v., 281
Society in Washington, comic side of, v., 281
Society out of place in United States, v., 282
Socrates, v., 253; vi., 112; x., 9
Soldier on Lincoln, A, iv., 128
Soldiers and Talks, iv., 73
Soldiers carry rope to lead back prisoners, iv., 31
Soldiers, colored, vii., 173; bravery of, vi., 176
Soldiers' Home, The, iv., 70
Soldiers, no provision for discharged and homeless, viii., 177
Soldiers not charity patients, vii., 119
Soldiers, paying the, vi., 175
Solidarity, v., 81
Solid Muldoon, The, vi., 155
Solitude in autumn, iv., 160
Solitude with Nature, iv., 182
Solomon, x., 9
Some Diary Notes at Random, vi., 164
Some Laggards Yet, vii., 21
Some Old Acquaintances—Memories, v., 20
Some Personal and Old Age Jottings, vii., 58
Some Sad Cases Yet, iv., 129
Some Specimen Cases, iv., 58
Some War Memoranda, vi., 172
Song, a morning, iv., 196
Song of Hiawatha, The, ix., 156
Song of Myself, x., 101, 112
Song of Myself, analysis of, i., xlv.
Song of Myself is *Leaves of Grass* in epitome, x., 113

Songs, strongest, yet unsung, iii., 66
Sonnambula, La, iv., 26
Sophocles, iii., 55; vi., 293; ix., 99; x., 16
Sorrell, viii., 27, 31
Soul, the noble, ix., 145
Sources of Character—Results—1860, iv., 28
Southern Escapees, iv., 105
South will yet outstrip the North, v., 160
Spain has grand historic retrospect, vi., 117
Spanish Element in our Nationality, The, vi., 116
Spanish Peaks, The—Evening on the Plains, iv., 271
Specimen Days, i., xxxiv.; vi., 198; vii., 60, 64, 77; material composing, iv., 3
Specimen Days and Collect, i., lxxiv.
Specimen Days in America, London Edition, June, 1887, vi., 196
Specimen Days, Whitman's resolve to print, iv., 3
Specimen Days, written on the flyleaf of Peter Doyle's copy of, viii., iii.
Specimen Tramp Family, A, iv., 205
Spencer, Herbert, vi., 97
Spenser, Edmund, vii., 23; ix., 77; object of, x., 15
Spiritual Characters among the Soldiers, iv., 79
Splinters, vii., 25
Spooner, Alden, iv., 19
Spottsylvania, wounded from, vii., 117
Sprague factories, viii., 37
Spring, iv., 175
Spring Overtures—Recreations, iv., 173
Springfield Republican, v., 234
Staffords, iv., 142; vi., 197
Stage lines and drivers of old New York, iv., 23, 24
St. Alban, x., 51
Stanberry, Attorney-General, viii., 214, 218, 221, 224
Stanley, v., 21
Stansberry, Wm., iv., 134
Stansbury, Michael, iv., 91
Stanton, Lincoln's visits to, iv., 71
Star, The, viii., 21
Stars, enthusiasm about, iv., 178
Starting Newspapers, v., 33
Starvation, dying of, iv., 121
Staten Island, iv., 21
States, The, x., 13
Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England, x., 30
St. Charles Street, New Orleans, iv., 232
Steamboats on the Delaware, iv., 222
Steam-Power, Telegraphs, etc., iv., 260
Steam-tugs, "saucy little bull-pups," iv., 222
Stedman, E. C., i., lxiii.; vii., 215; *American Anthology*, i., lxxix.
Steffan'one, iv., 27; vii., 56
Steppes of Asia, iv., 274
Sterling, John, x., 15
Sterling, Kansas, iv., 269
Stevens, David, viii., 29, 31
Stevens, Oliver, District Attorney of Boston, i., lxxiii.
Stevenson's *Gospel According to Walt Whitman*, i., lxx.
Stewart, Ned, viii., 57
Stirling, Sir Walter, v., 237
St. Lawrence Line, The, iv., 297
St. Louis, vi., 168, 212
St. Louis Memoranda, iv., 211
Storms, George, stage driver, iv., 24

St. Patrick, x., 51
Straw-Color'd and other Psyches, iv., 217
Strength of oratory, the, ix., 9
Strong, Lorenzo—a specimen army hospital case, vi., 227
Study, hard, viii., 271
Stupor Passes, The — Something Else Begins, iv., 36
Sturgis, Sergeant, vii., 261
"Style," Whitman's notes on, viii., 247
Suffolk County, L. I., iv., 6, 20
Suffrage, dangers of universal, v., 51
Suffrage, the more general, the better, v., 289
Suicide, letter on, viii., 41
Summer of 1864, iv., 86
Summer Sights and Indolencies, iv., 152
Sumner, Charles, vii., 140; death of, viii., 141
Sumter, Fort, attack on, excitement in New York, iv., 28
Sun-bath, A—Nakedness, iv., 182
Sunday Chronicle, The, viii., 96
Sunday with the Insane, iv., 293
Sundown Lights, iv., 196
Sundown Perfume—Quail-Notes—The Hermit-Thrush, iv., 153
Sunnyside, wreck of the, iv., 237
Sunset on the plains, iv., 271
Superior, Lake, iv., 297
Surratt, viii., 206, 212
Suspension bridge, Niagara, iv., 291
Swaim, Doctor, vii., 247
Swallows on the River, iv., 251
Swash Creek, vi., 168
Swedenborg, v., 136; ix., 79
Sweet William, vii., 53
Swiers, Joseph, vi., 238
Swimming, viii., 271
Swinton, John, viii., 222
Swinton, William, viii., 189
Symonds, John Addington, i., lxxi., lxxvi.; vi., 151; viii., v.
Symonds, *Essays Speculative and Suggestive*, vi., 283
Syntax, x., 5

T

Tacitus, x., 46
Tadousac, iv., 298
Taggart, iv., 222
Taine on original art, iii., 64
Taine's *English Literature*, v., 232; ix., 26
Talk to an Art-Union—A Brooklyn fragment, vi., 88
Talks with Southern escapees, iv., 105
Talmud, The, v., 136
Tam O'Shanter, vi., 140
Tariff union between United States and Canada, discussion of, iv., 296
Tarshish, x., 53
Tartars, x., 42
Tartary, Chinese, ix., 216
Tasistro, Count Michael, viii., 84, 94, 98, 100, 145, 147
Tasso, Torquato, notes on, ix., 163; x., 14
Taylor, Bayard, viii., 194; poems of, ix., 156
Taylor, Father (and Oratory), vi., 110
Taylor, Father, vi., 110, 259; vii., 22; church of, vi., 111; eloquence of, 112; prayers of, 112
Taylor, General, v., 152; vi., 209
Taylor, Mary, vii., 56
Temperaments, the four, ix., 63
Temperance question, viii., 262
Tempest, The, vii., 52
Templeton, vii., 53

Tennyson, Alfred, i., lxxii.; iii., 59; v., 207, 292; vi., 103, 132, 138, 145; vii., 9, 18, 58; ix., 123, 127; poetry clean and pure, v., 209; poetry, critical summary of, 210; stands for Shaksperian cultus, 229; service to his race, vi., 145; mannerism, 146; verbalism, 146; America's affection for, 147; a superb character, 147; both aristocratic and manly, ix., 196
Tennyson, *Crossing the Bar*, vii., 18
Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*, v., 223; vi., 106
Tertullian, x., 51
Testaments, Old and New, The, iii., 55; v., 117, 136, 276
Teutonic includes the Scandinavian, the, ix., 210
Thackeray, vi., 97
Thanatopsis, vi., 106
Thanksgiving, a word on, vi., 222
Thanksgiving, Ruskin on, vi., 222
Thayer and Eldridge, i., lvii.; viii., 275, 280
Theatres of old New York, iv., 24
Theodosius the Great, x., 48
Theology, art, and literature, common features of, v., 126
Theology of the East, contrasted with that of the West, v., 190; in its dotage, 190
Theories of Evil, ix., 154
Theory of a cluster of poems, ix., 150
The Wife, iv., 25
Third Corps, iv., 83
"This gusty-temper'd little whiffet, man," iv., 157
Thompson, Mr., vi., 129
Thoreau, Henry, i., lxxix.; v., 23; x., 105; aphorism of, v., 13; John Burroughs on, 14; grave of, 25
Thorne, the elder, vii., 56
Thorne, Mrs., vii., 56
Thornett, viii., 66
Thorwaldsen's *Apostles*, vii., 32
Thought on Shakspere, A, vi., 124
Thoughts Under an Oak—A Dream, iv., 197
Thou Mother with thy equal brood, i., lxvii.; ii., 235; viii., 84
Three of Us, iv., 201
Three Years Summ'd Up, iv., 135
Three Young Men's Deaths, iv., 188
Through Eight Years, iv., 27
Thule, x., 56
Ticknor, viii., 286, 287, 299
Tillary Street, Brooklyn, Whitman lived in, iv., 17
Timber Creek, New Jersey, Whitman spends many summers at, iv., 4, 142; vi., 197
Timonson, Mr., viii., 225
Tippy, stage driver, iv., 24
Tired soldiers, iv., 125
To a Haggis, vi., 140
To a Louse, vi., 140
To a Mountain Daisy, vi., 140
To a Mouse, vi., 140
To a poetic student and friend, v., 40
To auld Mare Maggie, vi., 140
To be Present Only, vii., 35
Toil, a life of, ix., 138
To Maillie and her Lambs, vi., 140
Tombstone Epitaph, The, vi., 155
Toner, Charles, viii., 100
Torch-light processions, viii., 24
To the De'il, vi., 140
To the Spring and Brook, iv., 144
To the Sun-Set Breeze rejected, vii., 43
To the Toothache, vi., 140
Towers, John, viii., 29, 31

Towner, Charles, viii., 104, 107, 123
Tramp and Strike Questions, v., 284
Tramp, the miserable wife of a, iv., 206
Translation into German of some of Whitman's poems published in Zurich, i., lxxv.
Traubel, Horace L., i., lxxv., xcvi.
Treadwell, Jeannette, vi., 164
Treasury Building, vi., 173
Tree, Ellen, iv., 25; vi., 189; vii., 51
"Trees I am familiar with here," iv., 159
Trees, necessity for, iv., 274
Trees speaking, iv., 157
Tremont Street, Boston, iv., 232
Trent affair, the, vi., 297
Trenton, iv., 222
Triads, The, x., 39
Tribune, The, iv., 37; v., 48
Triggs, Oscar Lovell, i., lxxvi.
Triggs, Oscar Lovell, *Bibliography of Walt Whitman*, x., 135
Triggs, Oscar Lovell, *The Growth of "Leaves of Grass,"* x., 99
Trinity Rock, iv., 299
Trojan war, v., 220
Trotter, Jonathan, iv., 19
Troubadours and Trouvères, ix., 90
Trovatore, Il, iv., 26; viii., 80
Trowbridge, i., lxiv.
Trübner and Co., viii., 279, 286
True Love, The, iv., 6
True question to ask, v., 139
True vista before, ix., 7
Truffi, iv., 27; vii., 56
Truths, a guess about positive, ix., 142
Truths, the greatest never put into print, ix., 42
Tulip poplar, the, iv., 159
Tulip-tree, a, iv., 150
Turk, the, his attitude towards women, v., 235
Turtle Hill, light-house at, on extreme point of Long Island, iv., 14
Twa Dogs, vi., 140
Twenty-third Street stage line, New York, iv., 23
Twilight, iv., 222
Two Brooklyn Boys, iv., 51
Two Brothers, one South, one North, iv., 128
Two City Areas, Certain Hours, iv., 240
Two-Hours' Ice-Sail, A, iv., 172
Two Hours on the "Minnesota," iv., 246
Two Letters, v., 257
Two Old Family Interiors, iv., 11
Two Questions, vii., 42
Tyndale, Hector, viii., 180; criticises Whitman's poems, ix., 154
Typical Soldiers, iv., 134
Tyrtæus, x., 16

U

Udall, William, iv., 19
Ulster County, an April day in, iv., 233; a ten-days' visit in, 233
Ulster County Waterfall, An, iv., 236
Ulysses, v., 255; vii., 37
"Unassailed Renown," vii., 23
Undraped Figure in Art, v., 235
Unfulfill'd Wants—the Arkansas River, iv., 268
Union Prisoners South, iv., 91
Union proved solid, the, ix., 195
Union Square, New York, on a May afternoon, iv., 240
Union, The, vii., 201
Unitarianism, v., 281
United States, article in *London Times* on, v., 52

United States, crowning growth of, iii., 64; prospect of material success, v., 51; fundamental want in, 53; the genuine union of, 59; true hold of liberalism in, 82; a great homogeneous nation, 159; its genius is in the common people, 162; destined for leading part in world-drama, 186; to be the leading nation of peace, 187; great esthetic and moral future, 192; its vital political mission, 196; sovereignty of the Union, 196; the first century preparation only, 196; need an intellectual backbone, 225; its bad qualities developing as well as the good, 287; significance of race not in "upper classes," vi., 99; advance in practical things, vii., 10
United States, Goethe's theory not suitable for the, vii., 6
United States, Lafayette's visit to, in 1824, iv., 17
Universe, external, is Whitman, i., xl.
Universe is absolute Law, the, v., 297
Unknown, An, iv., 199
Unknown dead, iv., 139
Unknown, elevating ideas of the, v., 137
Unnamed Lands, prose sketch of, ix., 49
Unnamed Remains the Bravest Soldier, iv., 57
Unwritten history of the Civil War, iv., 139
Upon Our Own Lands, iv., 213
Upperville, iv., 94
Up the Hudson to Ulster County, iv., 233
Usher, Judge, iv., 254

V

Valmiki, ix., 229
Van Anden, vii., 145
Van Buren, Martin, i., xxxiii.; iv., 21
Vance, Governor, iv., 91
Vanderbilt—"old sow and pigs," iv., 239
Van Velsor, family, i., xx.; iv., 6; cemetery, 7; homestead, 9
Van Velsor, Garrett, i., xiv., xxi.
Van Velsor, Louise, mother of Walt Whitman, i., xiv., xv.; iv., 10
Van Velsor, Major Cornelius, i., xiv., xx.; iv., 9
Variety and freedom are the lessons of nature, v., 49
Variorum Readings, iii., 85
Vates, x., 50
Vedas, i., 1.
Vegetarianism, viii., 268
Veias, x., 8
Velsor, Joe, viii., 181
Velsor, William, viii., 222
Ventures on an Old Theme, v., 270
Verdi, iv., 26; v., 217; vii., 50
Vernon, Mrs., iv., 25; vii., 56
Vervain, x., 55
Vestvali, vii., 56
Vicksburg, vi., 176; vii., 168, 174, 178
Victor Emmanuel, viii., 63
Vigil Strange, i., lx.
Virgil, ix., 101
Virgil's *Æneas*, v., 223
Virginia, iv., 85
Virtue in lowest characters, v., 285
Visigoths, x., 58
Vision, a boy's, ix., 146
Visit, at the Last, to R. W. Emerson, A, v., 22
Visits from strangers amusing, viii., 234

Visit to camp hospitals—dreadful sights, iv., 38
Vliet, Amos H., vii., 96, 135
Voice, a good one depends largely upon diet, viii., 252
Voice, beauty of the Italian, viii., 254
Voltaire, iv., 253; vi., 129; ix., 82
Voltaire, on Shakspere, vi., 293
Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, ix., 218
Von Moltke, vi., 293
von Strehlenau, Niembsch, ix., 116
Vortigern, x., 49, 57
Vyasa, ix., 229

W

Wagenvoort, Maurito, i., lxxvi.
Wagner, Richard, v., 27; his music like *Leaves of Grass*, i., xxxiii.
Walden Pond, v., 25
Wales, x., 42
Walker (Filibuster), v., 242
Walking, viii., 270
Walks at Washington, iv., 133
Wallace, Fort, iv., 271
Wallace, Jonathan, a Southern soldier, vi., 237
Wallack, vii., 56; theatre, viii., 56
Waller, x., 12; *Go, lovely Rose*, v., 269
Walsh, vii., 34
Walter Dumont and his Medal, iv., 236
Walters, F. W., i., lxxi.
Walton, Captain, iv., 224
Walt Whitman and His Second Boston Publishers, viii., 275
Walt Whitman and Oratory, viii., 244
Walt Whitman and Physique, viii., 261
Walt Whitman as Poet and Person, i., lxiii.
Walt Whitman Gossips of His Sojourn Here Years Ago as a Newspaper Writer. Notes of His Trip up the Mississippi and to New York, vi., 208
Walt Whitman's Last, vii., 71
"*Walt Whitman's Last 'Public,'*" vii., 36
Walt Whitman's Lectures, i., liv.
Want of system in distributing army supplies, iv., 100
War, Civil, a great literature to arise from, v., 245; future results of, v., 157; memoranda of, 1862–65, iv., 3; North as responsible as South for the, v., 151; Whitman is chief singer of the, x., 114
War, four years of murderous, v., 244
War of 1812, v., 220
Warner, iv., 222
Washington, vi., 129
Washington Chronicle, The, viii., 10
Washington, George, v., 220; vi., 204
Washington Heights, v., 17
Washington Street Scenes, vi., 172
Washington swarms with soldiers, iv., 101
Watson, iv., 224
Waverley Novels, Jefferson's verdict on, v., 209
Ways of cheering the sick, iv., 86
Wealth of Europe, v., 285
Weather, The—Does it Sympathize with These Times? iv., 112
Webster, Daniel, iv., 21; v., 242; vi., 114
Weehawken, iv., 208
Week's Visit to Boston, A, v., 4
Wenonah, The, v., 29
Wept of Wish-ton-Wish, vi., 189
West fuses inseparably with the East, v., 212

Western Soldiers, iv., 127
West Hills, old Whitman home at, i., xix.; iv., 6
Weymouth, Mass., iv., 6
Whale, The, ix., 136
Wharton, Doctor, vii., 34
What I Came to New York for, vii., 33
What Lurks Behind Shakspere's Historical Plays, vi., 120
When Lilacs Last in the Door-Yard Bloom'd, i., lxiii.
Whitall, Mr., the astronomer, iv., 225
White House, the, iv., 70
White House by Moonlight, The, iv., 48
White, Sarah, i., xiv., xx.
White's *Mysterious Night*, ix., 109
White, William, pilot, iv., 21
Whitman, Abijah, i., xiii.; iv., 7
Whitman, Andrew, brother of Walt, iv., 19; vii., 145
Whitman cemetery, iv., 7
Whitman, Edward, crippled (imbecile) brother of Walt, iv., 19
Whitman family, eight children in, iv., 19
Whitman family move to Brooklyn, iv., 17
Whitman Fellowship, i., lxxx.
Whitman, George, i., lxxxi.; iv., 19; a visit to, in camp, vii., 128; promotions and battles, iv., 134; wounded i., , lix.; iv., 28
Whitman, Hannah Louisa, sister of Walt, iv., 19
Whitman homestead, iv., 6
Whitman, Jesse, brother of Walt, i., xiv.; iv., 19
Whitman, John, iv., 6
Whitman, Joseph, i., xiii.; iv., 7
Whitman, Mary, sister of Walt, iv., 19
Whitman, Nehemiah, i., xiii., xix.
Whitman on immortality, vii., 40
Whitman's father, little known of, i., xvi.
Whitman's friends, i., lxxviii.
Whitman's portraits of American poets, vi., 291, 292
Whitman, Thomas Jefferson, i., xxxiv.; iv., 19; vi., 212; viii., 103, 163, 216
Whitman, Thomas Jefferson, obituary of, vii., 47
Whitman, Walt, genealogy, i., xiii.; his father, xiv., xv., xvi.; his mother, xiv., xv.; racial attributes, xv.; a carpenter, xvi., xvii.; ancestors possessed no formal culture, xvii.; devotion to his mother, xvii., xxii.; his mother an unusual woman, xvii.; ancestors first-rate people, xviii.; born at West Hills, Long Island, xxi.; Whitmans move to Brooklyn, xxiii.; his various employments, xxiv.; "education," when applied to, xxvi.; his magnetism, xxvii.; studies human nature, xxvii.; his practical democracy, xxviii.; had no formal religion, xxix.; love for libraries and museums, xxix.; friends among the working-classes, xxix.; a favorite mode of study, xxx.; reading as part of his education, xxx.; his pleasure in ferry-boats, xxxi.; his politics, xxxi.; riding on Broadway omnibuses, xxxi.; his enjoyment of opera, xxxii.; editor of *Brooklyn Eagle*, xxxiv.; effect of life in New Orleans upon him, xxxv.; tour through Middle, Southern, and Western States, xxxv.; building and selling houses,

Whitman, Walt—*Continued*
xxxvi.; *Leaves of Grass* published, xxxvi.; often regarded as indolent, xxxvi.; *The Freeman*, xxxvi.; hidden purpose of life revealed, xxxvii.; Whitman is external universe, xl.; his appearance, lii.; not lazy, lvii.; removal from New York and Brooklyn, lix.; George Whitman wounded, lix.; services in hospitals, lix.; hospital malaria, lx.; journalism, lx.; Department of the Interior, lxi.; Harlan and *Leaves of Grass*, lxi.; *Drum-Taps* printed, lxii.; not damaged by Harlan, lxii.; Attorney-General, office of, lxii.; happy in Washington, lxiv.; the Rossettis bring out volume of *Selections* in England, lxv.; paralysis, lxvii.; had no popular vogue, lxviii.; "The Poet of Joy," lxx.; last illness, lxxv.; works read in Europe, lxxvi.; his fame, lxxvii.; called "the American Columbus," lxxix.; his interpreters, lxxx.; in his own home, lxxxii.; life in Camden, lxxxii.; temper imperturbable, lxxxiv.; Sundays with Harned, lxxxv.; familiarities neither taken nor allowed by, lxxxvii.; always cool in emergencies, lxxxviii.; birthday celebrations, lxxxviii.; "loyal to the bone," lxxxviii.; Ingersoll's generosity, lxxxix.; never sick mentally, xci.; died confident his books would live, xciv.; his funeral, xciv.; desire to express his own personality, iii., 44; books he read often, 55; delight in Scott's poems, 55; his account of his genealogy and parentage, iv., 5; ancestry of, 5; of English and Dutch stock, 5; birth of, 7; boyish pursuits, 14; love of seashore, 14; acquaintance with natives of Long Island, 15; always a good walker, 16; trips on pilot boats in New York Bay, 16; kissed by Lafayette, 17; attended public schools in Brooklyn, 17; impressed by Elias Hicks's preaching, 17; becomes office boy, 17; is given subscription to circulating library, 17; revels in romance and poetry, 17; enjoyment of *Arabian Nights* and of Scott's works, 18; enters printing-office of *Long Island Patriot* as apprentice, 18; works on the *Long Island Star*, 19; father a carpenter and builder, 19; brothers and sisters, 19; long illness of mother, 19; his youthful tastes, 19; works in printing-offices in New York and Brooklyn, 19, 20, 23; teaches school in Long Island, 20; publishes weekly paper in Huntington, Long Island, 20; works in New York, 20; begins to write both poetry and prose, 20; passion for ferries, 20; makes friends with pilots of New York Bay, 21; reminiscences of celebrities seen in New York City, 21; never tires of sights of Broadway, New York City, 21; interview with Edgar A. Poe, 22; article published in *The Broadway Journal*, 22; sees John Jacob Astor, 22; rides on Broadway omnibuses, 23; makes friends with omnibus-drivers, 23; frequents opera and theatre, 24; editor of *Daily Eagle*, 27; lived in New Orleans, 27; on editorial

Whitman, Walt—*Continued*
staff of *Daily Crescent*, 27; journey through Middle States and South, 27; house-building in Brooklyn, 27; printed *The Freeman*, 27; death of father, 27; *Leaves of Grass* goes to press, 27; his estimate of sources of his character, 28; George Whitman wounded, 28; goes to Fredericksburg, 28; visits camp at Falmouth, Va., 38; daily visits to hospitals in Washington, 41; letter-writing in hospitals, 44; goes to Culpepper, 81; back in Washington, 86; devotes all his time to sick soldiers, 86; in Attorney-General's office, Washington, 142; stricken with paralysis, 142; goes to Camden, N. J., 142; partial recovery, 142; visits the Staffords at Timber Creek, 142; delight in nature, 143; finds woods best place for composition, 143; a real farm-lane his hobby, 144; speech on Thomas Paine, 168; in search of health, 173; reflections on sixtieth birthday, 197; walks with William Cullen Bryant, 202; attends funeral of William Cullen Bryant, 203; visit to John Burroughs, 204; visit to New York, 209; spends much time on Camden ferry-boats, 224; visit to J. H. Johnston, 233; ten days in Ulster County, 233; journey to Colorado, 252; an undelivered speech, 255; visit to T. J. Whitman, 281; returns East, 284; visits insane asylum, 292; travels along the St. Lawrence River, 297; a week's visit to Boston, v., 4; a meeting with Emerson at Concord, Mass., 22; ideas he attempts to carry out in poetry, 185; how his writings should be properly estimated, 203; summing up the condition of the United States, 226; anxious his theory should be understood, 231; new edition of his books, 258; cheated by book-agents, 258; help offered by English friends, 258; health failing, vi., 198; answers his critics, 283–288; rejected by his own times, vii., 42; Doyle talks of him, viii., 4; his dignity, 4; first meeting with Doyle, 5; was an athlete, 5; Attorney-General's office, 6; temperate in his habits, 6; his popularity, 6; attractive to men and women, 7; clean in regard to women, 7; reciting Shakspere, 9; love for stars, 9; Doyle's visit to him, 9; wished to be America's representative in literature, 10; religious views, 10; money had no weight with, 11; his raglan like Aladdin's lamp, 11; temper unusually even, 11; angry once, 11; alms-giving, 12; kind to animals, 12; always celebrated anniversary of Lincoln's death, 13; manners simple, 13; Bacon's grocery store, 13; Edmund Yates' visit, 14; walks with Garfield, 14; on the ferry-boats, 22; daily routine, 27–29; an evening's amusement, 35; ill-health, 40, 43, 89, 91 *et seq.*; eye-glasses necessary, 59; discharged from office by Mr. Wilson, 147; promoted in Attorney-General's office, 184; invitation from Alfred Pratt, 201; had attributes of an orator, 244; ne-

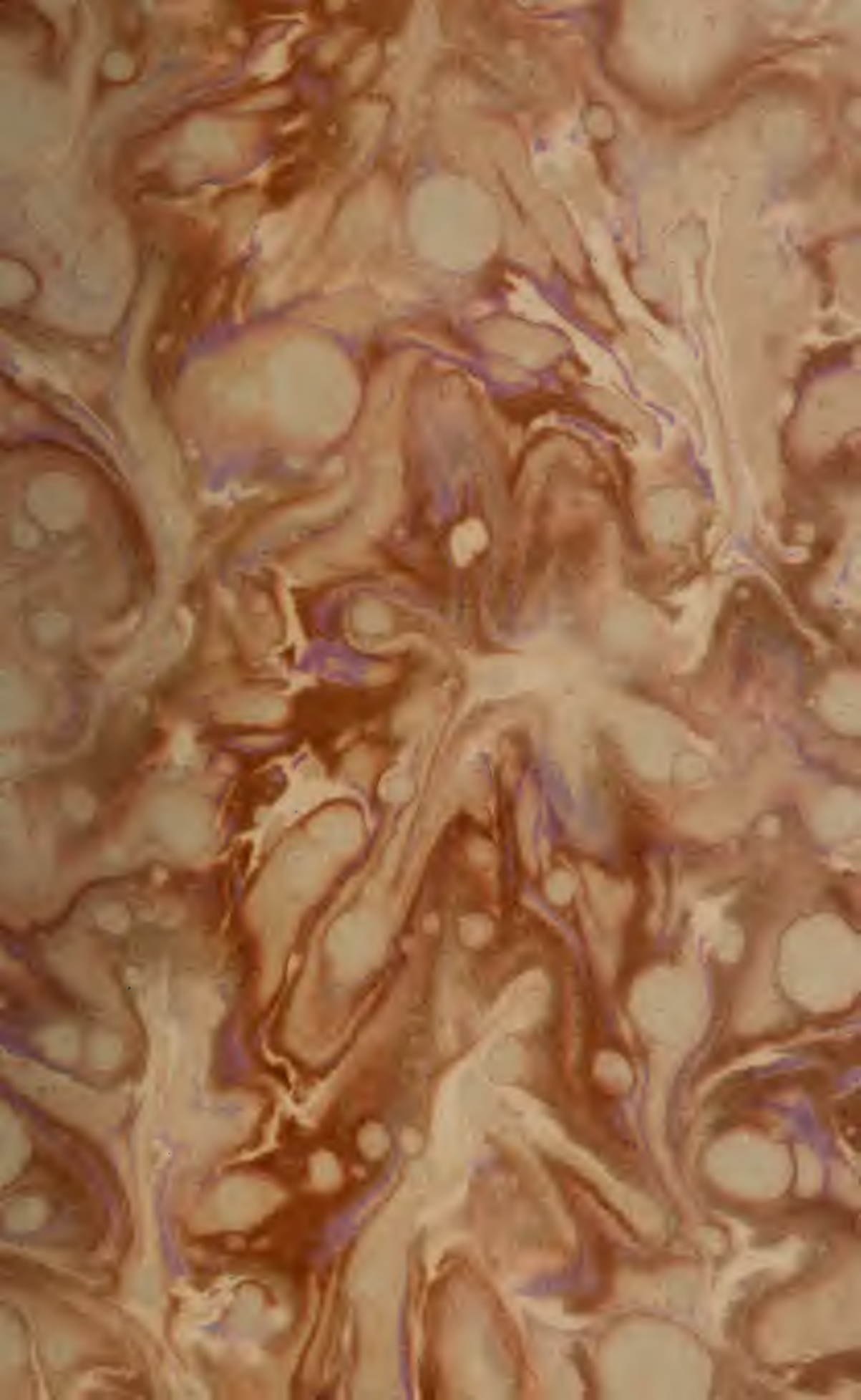
Whitman, Walt—*Continued*
gotiations with Osgood & Co. about new edition of *Leaves of Grass*, 276; stipulations as to material to be retained in *Leaves of Grass*, 276; suggestions as to form of new edition, 278; copyright arrangements, 279; directions as to type, etc., of new edition, 280; plates bought from Worthington by executors, 280; details of agreement between Whitman and Osgood, 283, 285; writes to Trübner & Co. about English copyright, 286; Ticknor asks for articles for *The Sword and the Pen*, 287; asks Osgood's permission to sell his Centennial Edition, 288; unruffled by promised prosperity, 288; Oliver Stevens, District Attorney of Boston, notifies Osgood & Co. that *Leaves of Grass* is officially classified with obscene literature, 289; consents to minor changes in *Leaves of Grass*, 291; suggests publishing *Specimen Days and Thoughts*, 293; excisions in *Leaves of Grass* suggested by District Attorney, 293; refuses to accept the suggestions, 294; Osgood & Co. terminate agreement, 296–298; his friends furious, 299; poems when complete should be a unity, ix., 3; constituent elements of his poetry, 3; he sweeps away conventional distinction, 4; poem of the People, 4; a new burial service, 4; make no quotations, 4; material world as grand as the spiritual, 5; athletic women, 5; tell the American people their faults, 5, 19; translations of poems must contain every line, 6, 19; universology, 6; avoid poetic similes, 6; great construction of the New Bible, 6; "Make *the Works*," 7; boldness, 7; to hold the ear of the people, 8; difference from other poets, 10; compared to other poems *Leaves of Grass* seems bare, 20–23; his second wind, 24; notes for Ottawa lecture, 25; poems summed up, 26; *Two Rivulets*, 26; criticism of *Leaves of Grass*, 28; caution—supply models instead of blustering, 30; extracts from a preface, 31; "don't read my books," 33; rules for composition, 34; *Leaves of Grass* subjective, 43; scrap-book, 53; paralysis, causes of, 200; spinal idea of his poetry, x., 15; "an idle poetsmith," 104; letter from Emerson, 106; is chief singer of the Civil War, 114
Whitman, Walter, i., xiv.
Whitman, Zachariah, i., xiii., xvii.; iv., 6
Whittier, J. G., i., lxxii.; vi., 99, 183; vii., 19, 24; ix., 14
Whittier threw *Leaves of Grass* into fire, i., liii.
Whittier, Whitman's tribute to, v., 9
Who Gets the Plunder? v., 290
Wickliffe, ix., 85
Wilber, Oscar F., iv., 67; vii., 112
Wilde, Oscar, vi., 97
Wilderness, The, vii., 276
Wilderness, wounded from battle of the, vii., 117
Wild Flowers, iv., 219
Wild flowers and weeds, list of, iv., 220
Wilkins, actor, v., 21
Wilkins, Edward, vii., 34

Willard's Hotel, iv., 34
Williams, Amy or Naomi, i., xiv., xx.; iv., 9
Williams, Captain John, i., xiv., xx.
Williams family, the, Quaker ancestors of Whitman, iv., 10
Williams, James H., iv., 129
Williams, Mr. and Mrs., vi., 222
Willis, N. P., ix., 156
Willoughby, Samuel, iv., 19
Wilson, Benton H., iv., 134
Winder, Joseph, a colored soldier, vi., 238
Windmill Island, iv., 223
Winter Day on the Sea-Beach, iv., 165
Winter nights on a ferry-boat, iv., 227
Winterstein, Manvill, iv., 134
Wish to write about sea-shore, iv., 167
Witch-trials, vi., 273
Wood, Mrs., iv., 25; vii., 56
Woodthrush, song of the, iv., 235
Woolbridge, Andy, viii., 53
Woolley, Mary, i., xiv., xx.
Woman overboard, a, vi., 214
Woman, progress of, hampered by prurient treatment of sexual subjects, v., 235
Woman, redemption of, v., 66
Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman, A, i., lxvi.
Women, American, in business, v., 107
Women, fine-looking gray-hair'd, v., 7
Women of America raised to be equals of men, v., 90
Women of the West, The, iv., 278
Women's entrance into public life, mutterings of, v., 110
Woods best places for composition, iv., 143
Word About Tennyson, A, vi., 143
Words, original meaning of some, vi., 150
Wordsworth, vii., 23
Wordsworth, French critic on, iii., 46
Wordsworth lacks sympathy with men and women, ix., 98
Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality*, ix., 14
Wordsworth's "It is the first mild day of March," ix., 125
Working-man and woman, iii., 61
Works of art, how they should be tested, v., 139
World's attitude towards sexual matters, v., 231
World's Show, A, vii., 32
Wormley, John, iv., 108
Worthen, W. E., vii., 269
Worthington, Richard, i., lviii.
Wortman, vi., 164
Wounds and Diseases, iv., 117
Wound Dresser, i., lx., lxxvi.; vii., 73
Wounded from Chancellorsville, The, iv., 52
Wounded in the House of Friends, v., 48
Wounded soldiers, small comforts for, vii., 93
Wright, Frances, *A Few Days in Athens*, ix., 129
Wright, Mrs., iv., 60
Writings of Walt Whitman, x., 139
Written Impromptu in an Album, vi., 222

Y

Yacht-race, viii., 52
Yale, Doctor, vii., 122
Yankee Antique, A, iv., 116

"*Yankee Doodle*," the effect of, vi., 171, 226
Yankee metropolis, the, v., 4
Yankee Soldier, A, iv., 91
Yard, Major, vii., 143
Yates, Edmund, viii., 14
Yellow-birds, the, stage line, iv., 23
Yellow Joe, stage driver, iv., 24
Yellowstone, the upper, iv., 272
Yonkers-on-Hudson, iv., 204
Yosemite, iv., 272
Young Elephant, stage driver, iv., 24
Youth of soldiers, iv., 102
Youth that Never Saw a Woman, The, vi., 189
Youth, Whitman's views in early, v., 47

Z

Zerdusht, ix., 228
Zollverein between the U. S. and Canada, A, iv., 296
Zoroaster, ix., 99; x., 9
Zoroastrianism, i., l.